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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON SUETONIUS, DIVUS TITUS

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled

A HISTORICAL COMMENTARY OF SUETONIUS, DIVUS TITUS

submitted by Janet E. Moodie in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

R. C. Smith
Supervisor

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Date September 23, 1977

ABSTRACT

In this thesis, I have provided a historical commentary on the life of the deified Titus, as recounted by Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus in the second century A.D.. Ancient sources - literary, epigraphical, and numismatic - have been consulted in order to evaluate the historical material of Suetonius. Extensive use has also been made of modern critical works relevant to the author's treatment of the second Flavian emperor. In the commentary, each chapter section has been prefaced by a summary, followed by a discussion of individual points in the text. In addition, the pecularities of Suetonius' biographical style have been examined to determine how they affect the author's presentation of historical data. The value of the work as an historical source has also been studied and possible sources for the vita of Titus have been explored.

FOREWORD

The purpose of this thesis is to comment on the historical content of Suetonius' Divus Titus, the eleventh book of his biographical work, De vita Caesarum. Other than the later account of Dio Cassius' epitomizer Xiphilinus, Suetonius provides the only full treatment of the Flavian emperor who reigned from A.D. 79 to 81. It must, however, be remembered that the work is a biography and that, as a consequence, Suetonius is, in general, more concerned with illustrating Titus' traits of personality than with composing a detailed account of historical events. While narrating incidents from the life of the emperor, Suetonius displays a bias in favor of Titus, amor ac deliciae generis humani, particularly after he became princeps. Yet later authors are also well-disposed towards Titus, above all Suetonius' near contemporary, Tacitus, whose account of Flavian Rome unfortunately breaks off before Titus' conquest of Jerusalem, thus depriving us of what would certainly have been a more complete historical commentary on the second dynasty of Roman emperors than that of either Suetonius or Dio. Regrettable though this is, such sources as do survive - inscriptions, coinage, scraps of literary authors - do enable one to pass judgement on the information presented by Suetonius. It is on this basis that the historical commentary which follows is offered.

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I wish to thank my supervisors, Professor Duncan Fishwick, who suggested this topic and read the first draft, and Dr. Richard C. Smith, who helped me bring the thesis to its conclusion.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ancient authors and texts and periodicals are abbreviated in accordance with the short titles assigned in The Oxford Classical Dictionary (1970). Abbreviations for source material frequently cited in the text are listed below.

Roman Construction	M. E. Blake, Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians, (Washington, D.C., 1959).
Consilium Principis	John Crook, Consilium Principis: Imperial Councils and Counsellors from Augustus to Diocletian, (Cambridge, 1955).
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, (Berlin, 1873 -).
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, (Berlin, 1863 -).
Degrassi	Attilio Degrassi, I fasti consolari dell' impero Romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo, (Rome, 1952).
ILS	H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, (Berlin, 1962).
Tito	Marcello Fortina, L'imperatore Tito, (Torino, 1955).
Roman Life	L. Friedlander, Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire, Engl. transl., (New York, 1968).
Antonine Monarchy	Mason Hammond, The Antonine Monarchy, (Rome, 1959).
AFA	William Henzen, Acta Fratrum Arvalium quae supersunt, (Berlin, 1874).
BMC	Harold Mattingly, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, 3 vols., (London, 1965-1966).

McCrum-Woodhead	M. McCrum and A. G. Woodhead, Select Documents of the Principates of the Flavian Emperors, (Cambridge, 1966).
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, (Stuttgart, 1893 -).
Platner-Ashby	S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome, (Oxford, 1929).
Price	Helen Price, C. Suetoni Tranquilli: De vita Caesarum, Liber VIII: Divus Titus, edition with parallel texts and notes, (University of Pennsylvania, 1915).
PIR^2	Prosopographi Imperii Romani, 2nd edition, E. Groag, A. Stein et al. (eds.), (Berlin, 1933).
Syme	Ronald Syme, Tacitus, 2 vols., (Oxford, 1958).
Latin Biography	G. B. Townend, "Suetonius and his Influence," in Latin Biography, T. A. Dorey (ed.), (New York, 1967).

INTRODUCTION

SUETONIUS' BIOGRAPHICAL METHOD IN *DIVUS TITUS*

Unlike other Roman biographies, such as Tacitus' Agricola and his own earlier biographical work, Suetonius' lives of the Roman emperors are based upon a narration which, to a large extent, abandons chronology. Instead, each vita is organized into chapters which treat the emperor's ancestry and birth, his early life leading up to his accession, his public career, his private life and qualities, and, finally, the events which culminate in his death. This arrangement per species varies to suit the life of a particular emperor, but in the main Suetonius adheres to the kind of scheme evident in the vita of Titus.

In the opening chapter Suetonius gives an account of Titus' birth, the customary discussion of his family being omitted because it is contained in the preceding life on Vespasian (Vesp. 1.2f.). The next five chapters deal with Titus' early life, but the account is not strictly chronological. One passage, for example, is devoted to the subject of the emperor's mental and physical qualities (3.1f.). This topic, which naturally follows the narration of Titus' education in the Claudian court, is common to all the biographies, though its position in the different vitae tends to vary; occasionally it is even placed after the description of an emperor's death (cf. Otho 12; Dom. 18). Also, in Titus 4.2 Suetonius groups together his two marriages and the birth of his daughter, Julia. Chapters five and six, in particular, recount events which foreshadow Titus' future rule (cf. Tit. 2.1): the popular belief that he would be named Galba's heir (5.1); the oracle of the Paphian Venus (5.1); the accession of his

father (5.2); his own salutation as imperator (5.2); and his partnership with Vespasian (6.1). With chapter seven Suetonius begins his description of Titus' reign, but the narration is arranged in sections covering his bad qualities, while still Vespasian's colleague (6.2f.), and his good qualities in both private life (7.2) and public life (7.3f.). The biographer then resumes a chronological account in chapter ten where he recounts the prelude to Titus' death and then his death (11.1).

In addition to the arrangement per species of material, Suetonius employs in De vita Caesarum a rhetorical device, known as partitio or divisio, in order to set off subjects which are duly illustrated by an example or anecdote.[1] For instance, in the discussion of Titus' favorable characteristics, the sentence natura autem benivolentissimus introduces a list of Titus' kindly acts towards the populace (8.1); similarly, in the narration of Titus' vitia such phrases as in eo etiam luxuria erat, nec minus libido and suspecta rapacitas (7.1) are followed by examples of behavior that portray each vice. The use of partitio takes on a particular importance in the passages which deal with Titus' unpopularity before he came to the throne and his subsequent exemplary conduct as emperor; for each example that is listed under the 'divisions' saevitia, libido, luxuria, and rapacitas is carefully countered by specific acts which exemplify the opposite behavior.[2] Thus, he may have executed Aulus Caecina (6.2), but he

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1 Latin Biography 85-86.

2 Luck, Rh. Mus. 107 (1964) 67.

chose the most able men as his advisors (7.2); his banquets were pleasant rather than extravagant (7.2); despite his love for Berenice (7.1), he banished her from Rome (7.2); although he could be bribed while Vespasian was emperor (7.1), once on the throne he deprived no citizen of property and did not even accept voluntary donations, building magnificent structures at his own expense (7.3). The balance created by these examples is epitomized by the antithetic statements: denique propalam alium Neronem et opinabantur et praedicabant and at illi ea fama pro bono cessit conversaque est in maximas laudes neque vitio ullo reperto et contra virtutibus summis (7.1).[3] Suetonius' theme - the "conversion" of Titus - is foreshadowed at the outset of the vita (tantum illi ad promerendam omnium voluntatem vel ingenii vel artis vel fortunae superfuit et quod difficillimum est in imperio quando privatus atque etiam sub patre principe ne odio quidem nedum vituperatione publica caruit) and the reference to Gaius also sets up an effective contrast between Titus, amor ac deliciae generis humani, and Caligula, natrix populo Romano Phaethon orbi terrarum (Suet. Gaius 11). The juxtaposition of these two figures is not simply a comparison between a good and an evil ruler, as Levi views it[4], but of an emperor whose accession to the throne the Roman people welcomed with an enthusiasm they later regretted and one whom the Romans initially feared would be a second Nero, yet recognized, once he was princeps, as a man of great virtue. The nature of the prologue (1.1),

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3 Luck, op. cit. 66, n. 8 for his comment that the latter phrase should probably mark the beginning of section 7.2.

4 Levi, PP 9 (1954) 288.

the passages on Titus before and after his accession (6.2f.) and other laudatory statements (e.g. inter haec morte praeventus est maiore hominum damno quam suo) have led to a belief that Suetonius intended the Divus Titus as a panegyric in the style of earlier Roman biographies.[5] Nevertheless, Suetonius does not hesitate to repeat rumors and acts which are uncomplimentary to the princeps (5.3; 6.2f.) and perhaps even intimates that his "conversion" was simply out of regard for public opinion (e.g. populum in primis universum tanta per omnis occasiones comitate tractavit; ne quid popularitatis praetermitteret).[6] His change for the better, however, undoubtedly impressed Suetonius, who probably overemphasizes it by the way in which he arranged his material. Overall, the vita of Titus has a laudatory tone and, thus, as a historical source, should be used cautiously, particularly in regard to Domitian, for whom Titus functions as a foil.

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5 Luck, op. cit. 73; cf. Steidle, Sueton und die antike Biographie (1963) 106-107.

6 Luck, op. cit. 67-68.

SUETONIUS' HISTORICAL TREATMENT OF *DIVUS TITUS*

Suetonius' work on the early emperors constitutes one of our few extant sources for the first century A.D.; yet, unlike Tacitus, the biographer did not aim at a historical re-creation of the early empire. His concern is rather with the emperors themselves, and historical events are frequently recounted only in order to illustrate certain qualities of Rome's rulers. Nonetheless, Suetonius' biographies do provide portraits of the emperors and present or supplement information not to be found in other sources. The value of De vita Caesarum, therefore, cannot be discounted.

In the vita of Titus, Suetonius gives the picture of a benevolent ruler; the story which he relates about the two patricians, for instance, is designed to illustrate Titus' compassion (Tit. 9.1f.). Since, however, Suetonius departs from the general Roman practice of portraying a man as either entirely good or entirely evil, he does recount incidents which show why Titus was unpopular before he became emperor and then acts exemplifying his kindly nature once princeps. Any motivation for his "conversion" is at best only implied, psychological analysis or appreciation of motive usually being absent from the work (cf. Dio 66.18.1f.). Nonetheless, Suetonius' collection of stories - for example, his unwilling dismissal of Berenice (7.2), his spectacles (7.3, 8.2) and his attempts to alleviate the suffering caused by the natural disasters during his reign (8.3f.) - attest Titus' efforts to secure the favor of his subjects; he, no doubt, wanted to be regarded as a good emperor. Thus, Suetonius gives his

audience a description of Titus' qualities and deeds which serves to enhance the knowledge of his character and reign.

The material which Suetonius records on Titus' early life is also of particular note, since other historical sources on the Flavians during this period do not exist, due to the obscure position of the family at the time. Suetonius alone recounts the circumstances of Titus' birth (1.1) and his early upbringing in the Claudian household (2.1). Further information on Titus and his family is given in the vitae of Vespasian and Domitian; the three biographies were intended to be read as a group. Titus' early career in Rome - his pleading in the forum (4.2) and his quaestorship (4.3) - are outlined. Similarly, without the vita Titus' marriages to Arrecina Tertulla and Marcia Furnilla would be unknown.

Once the Flavians gain prominence in the later 60's A.D., historical information on them becomes more abundant. Flavius Josephus in his Bellum Iudaicum provides an extensive treatment of the Judaean war and Flavian activities in the East; Cornelius Tacitus gives in his Histories a full account of this period of Roman history, but his work breaks off just before Titus' conquest of Jerusalem. Dio Cassius is left as the only major source other than Suetonius who spans the whole of Titus' life. Tacitus' Histories and Josephus' Bellum Iudaicum present a more detailed account of Titus' political involvement in the Flavian bid for the throne than does Suetonius. His role as a negotiator with Gaius Licinius Mucianus, the governor of Syria, is outlined by both Tacitus (Hist. 2.5, 2.79) and Josephus (BJ 4.32).

Josephus (BJ 4.656-659) and Dio (66.8.4f.) write that Titus accompanied his father to Alexandria, where he appealed to Vespasian on behalf of the Alexandrians, who were angered by the elder Flavian's tax exactions. Titus saved his father from punishing the Alexandrians; had he done so, he would have jeopardized one of his Eastern bases of support. Suetonius is silent about such political incidents, preferring to narrate occurrences which foretold Titus' future rule (5.1f.), as is often his wont (cf. Vesp. 5; Galba 9.2). On the other hand, Suetonius alone relates the fact that there were suspicions and unfavorable reactions to Titus' acts in the East following the conquest of Jerusalem.

While Dio's historical account parallels the major points of Titus' reign as presented by Suetonius, the latter is much more given to relating anecdotes, memorable sayings and other tidbits of information, such as the fact that Titus favored Thracian gladiators (8.2). Suetonius, however, does include a variety of incidents of historical worth in the life of Titus. Dio, for example, speaks of Titus' banishing of informers, but Suetonius elaborates on the punishment suffered by informers and also relates certain legal measures instituted by Titus to curb the practice (8.5). He gives more detail than does Dio on the execution of Aulus Caecina (6.2) and Titus' cruel acts while praetorian prefect (6.1). Historical information not recorded elsewhere is also provided by Suetonius; it is, for instance, from the biographer that we learn the status of beneficia at the time of Titus' reign (8.1). Thus, despite the limitations of De vita Caesarum, Suetonius through his interest in the individual

shows himself to be a noteworthy recorder of facts on an emperor's life which contribute to a general picture of the man's character and the nature of his reign.

SOURCES FOR *DIVUS TITUS*

Divus Titus is the eleventh book of Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars, and there are indications that the vita may have been written as late as 129-132 A.D. (see note 10.2: immo etiam gloriatura ...). If Suetonius no longer had access to the imperial records and letters at the time of composition[7] - a hypothesis which is strengthened by the lack of documentation about such events as Titus' accession and other points[8] - the question arises as to what his sources for the life of Titus really were. There can be no doubt that for the later biographies Suetonius relied on personal recollections; Titus 4.1 might be cited as an example of his firsthand knowledge.[9] As for literary sources, it is sometimes argued that what Suetonius drew upon for his biographies of the Flavians cannot be determined.[10] Even so, the text of Divus Titus may yield some clues to the works that Suetonius consulted. Thus, for the war in Judaea, it is not inconceivable that the author referred to Flavius Josephus' Bellum Iudaicum or to the Commentarii of Vespasian and Titus, which Josephus is believed to have used extensively.[11] A couple of incidents seem, at any rate, to

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7 Townend, CQ 53 (1959) 285-293.

8 In Titus 4.2, 5.2 he merely designates Titus' daughter as filia and not Julia; in 9.1f. he does not identify the two patricians.

9 See note 4.1: sicut apparet; Titus 1.1, where Suetonius mentions Titus' birthplace near the Septizodium, suggests that the author had visited the building as he comments it is still standing; cf. Dom. 12.2.

10 Townend, Hermes 88 (1960) 105.

11 Weber, Josephus und Vespasian (1921) 124f..

lend some support to this contention (see note 4.3: in potestatem redegit; note 5.2: duodecim propugnatores ...).[12] On the other hand, comments of Suetonius appear to point to a second source for the period, since his account differs in some points from that of Josephus (see note 5.2: efflagitantes aut remaneret ...; note 5.3: inopinantique patre). More particularly, the similarity of detail between Titus 5.1 and Tacitus' Histories 2.1f. might suggest Tacitus as a source for part of the vita, though Suetonius never mentions him by name, or possibly the two authors used a common source.[13] Beyond this, little positive can be said about Suetonius' sources for the reign of Titus. One is left in the last analysis with vague references, such as credatur (2.1), ferebatur (7.1), dicitur (9.2), and quidam opinantur (10.2), which might suggest a variety of sources or simply current opinion.

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12 Braithwaite, C. Suetoni Tranquilli: Divus Vespasianus (1927) xv, comments that Suetonius did not know of Josephus' historical works. Although his proof is not conclusive, it may suggest that the Commentarii was a common source for Suetonius and Josephus.

13 Syme II 501, 781f.

C. SUETONI TRANQUILLI

DE VITA CAESARUM: DIVUS TITUS

1. Titus, cognomine paterno, amor ac deliciae generis humani - tantum illi ad promerendam omnium voluntatem vel ingenii vel artis vel fortunae superfuit, et, quod difficillimum est, in imperio, quando privatus atque etiam sub patre principe ne odio quidem, nedum vituperatione publica caruit - natus est III. Kal. Ian. insigni anno Gaiana nece, prope Septizonium sordidis aedibus, cubiculo vero perparvo et obscuro, nam manet adhuc et ostenditur.

2. Educatus in aula cum Britannico simul ac paribus disciplinis et apud eosdem magistros institutus. quo quidem tempore aiunt metoposcopum a Narcisso Claudi liberto adhibitum, ut Britannicum inspiceret, constantissime affirmasse illum quidem nullo modo, ceterum Titum, qui tunc prope astabat, utique imperaturum. erant autem adeo familiares, ut de potione, qua Britannicus hausta periit, Titus quoque iuxta cubans gustasse credatur gravique morbo adflictatus diu. quorum omnium mox memor statuam ei auream in Palatio posuit et alteram ex ebore equestrem, quae circensi pompa hodieque praefertur, dedicavit prosecutusque est.

3. In puero statim corporis animique dotes explenduerunt, magisque ac magis deinceps per aetatis gradus: forma egregia et cui non minus auctoritatis inesset quam gratiae, praecipuum robur, quanquam neque procera statura et ventre paulo proiectiore; memoria[e] singularis, docilitas ad omnis fere tum belli tum pacis artes. armorum 2
et equitandi peritissimus, Latine Graeceque vel in orando vel in fingendis poematibus promptus et facilis ad extemporalitatem usque; sed ne musicae quidem rudis, ut qui cantaret et psalleret iucunde scienterque. e pluribus comperi, notis quoque excipere velocissime solitum, cum amanuensibus suis per ludum iocumque certantem, imitarique

chirographa quaecumque vidisset, ac saepe profiteri maximum falsarium esse potuisse.

4. Tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia meruit summa[e] industriae nec minore modestiae[t] fama, sicut apparet statuarum et imaginum eius multitudine ac titulis per utramque provinciam.

Post stipendia foro operam dedit honestam magis quam assiduam, 2
eodemque tempore Arrecinam Tertullam, patre eq. R. sed praefecto quondam praetorianarum cohortium, duxit uxorem et in defunctae locum Marciam Furnillam splendidi generis; cum qua sublata filia divortium fecit.

Ex quaesturae deinde honore legioni praepositus Tarichaeas et 3
Gamalam urbes Iudaeae validissimas in potestatem redegit, equo quadam acie sub feminibus amisso alteroque inscenso, cuius rector circa se dimicans occubuerat.

5. Galba mox tenente rem p. missus ad gratulandum, quaqua iret convertit homines, quasi adoptionis gratia arcesseretur. sed ubi turbari rursus cuncta sensit, redit ex itinere, aditoque Paphiae Veneris oraculo, dum de navigatione consulit, etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est. cuius brevi compos et ad perdomandam Iudaeam 2
relictus, novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus, cepitque ea natali filiae suae tanto militum gaudio ac favore, ut in gratulatione imperatorem eum consalutaverint et subinde decedentem provincia detinuerint, suppliciter nec non et minaciter efflagitantes, aut remaneret aut secum omnis pariter abduceret. unde nata suspicio est, quasi desciscere 3
a patre Orientisque sibi regnum vindicare temptasset; quam suspicionem

auxit, postquam Alexandriam petens in consecrando apud Memphim bove Apide diadema gestavit, de more quidem rituque priscae religionis; sed non deerant qui sequius interpretarentur. quare festinans in Italiam, cum Regium, dein Puteolos oneraria nave appulisset, Romam inde contendit expeditissimus inopinantique patri, velut arguens rumorum de se temeritatem: veni, inquit, pater, veni.

6. Neque ex eo destitit participem atque etiam tutorem imperii agere. triumphavit cum patre censuramque gessit una, eidem collega et in tribunicia potestate et in septem consulatibus fuit; receptaque ad se prope omnium officiorum cura, cum patris nomine et epistulas ipse dictaret et edicta conscriberet orationesque in senatu recitaret etiam quaestoris vice, praefecturam quoque praetori suscepit numquam ad id tempus nisi ab eq. R. administratam, egitque aliquanto incivilius et violentius, siquidem suspectissimum quemque sibi summissis qui per theatra et castra quasi consensu ad poenam deposcerent, haud cunctanter oppressit. in his Aulum Caecinam consularem vocatum ad 2
cenam ac vixdum triclinio egressum confodi iussit, sane urgente discrimine, cum etiam chirographum eius praeparatae apud milites contionis deprehendisset. quibus rebus sicut in posterum securitati satis cavit, ita ad praesens plurimum contraxit invidiae, ut non temere quis tam adverso rumore magisque invitis omnibus transierit ad principatum.

7. Praeter saevitiam suspecta in eo etiam luxuria erat, quod ad mediam noctem comisationes cum profusissimo quoque familiarium extenderet; nec minus libido propter exoletorum et spadonum greges propterque insignem reginae Berenices amorem, cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur; suspecta rapacitas, quod constabat in

co[g]n[i]tionibus patris nundinari praemiarique solitum; denique propalam alium Neronem et opinabantur et praedicabant. at illi ea fama pro bono cessit conversaque est in maximas laudes neque vitio ullo reperto et contra virtutibus summis.

Convivia instituit iucunda magis quam profusa. amicos elegit, 2
quibus etiam post eum principes ut et sibi et rei p. necessariis adquieverunt praecipueque sunt usi. Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit invitus invitam. quosdam e gratissimis delicatorum quanquam tam artifices saltationis, ut mox scaenam tenuerint, non modo fovere prolixius, sed spectare omnino in publico coetu supersedit.

Nulli civium quicquam ademit; abstinuit alieno, ut si quis 3
umquam; ac ne concessas quidem ac solitas conlationes recepit. et tamen nemine ante se munificentia minor, amphitheatro dedicato thermisque iuxta cele[b]riter extructis munus edidit apparatissimum largissimumque; dedit et navale proelium in veteri naumachia, ibidem et gladiatores atque uno die quinque milia omne genus ferarum.

8. Natura autem benivolentissimus, cum ex instituto Tiberi omnes deinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa principibus aliter [rata] non haberent, quam si eadem isdem et ipsi dedissent, primus praeterita omnia uno confirmavit edicto nec a se peti passus est. in ceteris vero desideriis hominum obstinatissime tenuit, ne quem sine spe dimitteret; quin et admonentibus domesticis, quasi plura polliceretur quam praestare posset, non oportere ait quemquam a sermone principis tristem discedere; atque etiam recordatus quondam super cenam, quod nihil cuiquam toto die praestitisset, memorabilem illam meritoque laudatam vocem edidit: amici, diem perdidi.

Populum in primis universum tanta per omnis occasiones comitate 2

tractavit, ut proposito gladiatorio munere, non ad suum, sed ad spectantium arbitrium editurum se professus sit; et plane ita fecit. nam neque negavit quicquam petentibus et ut quae vellent peterent ultro adhortatus est. quin et studium armaturae Thraecum prae se ferens saepe cum populo et voce et gestu ut fautor cavillatus est, verum maiestate salva nec minus aequitate. ne quid popularitatis praetermitteret, nonnumquam in thermis suis admissa plebe lavit.

Quaedam sub eo fortuita ac tristia acciderunt, ut conflagratio 3
Vesuvii montis in Campania, et incendium Romae per triduum totidemque noctes, item pestilentia quanta non temere alias. in iis tot adversis ac talibus non modo principis sollicitudinem sed et parentis affectum unicum praestitit, nunc consolando per edicta, nunc opitulando quatenus suppeteret facultas. curatores restituendae Campaniae 4
e consularium numero sorte duxit; bona oppressorum in Vesuvio, quorum heredes non extabant, restitutioni afflictarum civitatium attribuit. urbis incendio nihil publice nisi perisse testatus, cuncta praetoriorum suorum ornamenta operibus ac templis destinavit praeposuitque compluris ex equestri ordine, quo quaeque maturius peragerentur. medendae valitudini leniendisque morbis nullam divinam humanamque opem non adhibuit inquisito omni sacrificiorum remediorumque genere.

Inter adversa temporum et delatores amendatoresque erant ex 5
licentia veteri. hos assidue in foro flagellis ac fustibus caesos ac novissime traductos per amphitheatri harenam partim subici ac venire imperavit, partim in asperrimas insularum avehi. utque etiam similia quandoque ausuros perpetuo coerceret, vetuit inter cetera de eadem re pluribus legibus agi quaerive de cuiusquam defunctorum statu ultra certos annos.

9. Pontificatum maximum ideo se professus accipere ut puras servaret manus, fidem praestitit, nec auctor posthac cuiusquam necis nec conscius, quamvis interdum ulciscendi causa non deesset, sed periturum se potius quam perditurum adiurans. duos patricii generis convictos in adfectatione imperii nihil amplius quam ut desisterent monuit, docens principatum fato dari, si quid praeterea desiderarent promittens se tributurum. et confestim quidem ad alterius matrem 2
quae procul aberat, cursores suos misit, qui anxiae salvum filium nuntiarent, ceterum ipsos non solum familiari cenae adhibuit, sed et insequenti die gladiatorum spectaculo circa se ex industria conlocatis oblata sibi ferramenta pugnantium inspicienda porrexit. dicitur etiam cognita utriusque genitura imminere ambobus periculum adfirmasse, verum quandoque et ab alio, sicut evenit.

Fratrem insidiari sibi non desinentem, sed paene ex professo 3
sollicitantem exercitus, meditantem fugam, neque occidere neque seponere ac ne in minore quidem honore habere sustinuit, sed, ut a primo imperii die, consortem successoremque testari perseveravit, nonnumquam secreto precibus et lacrimis orans, ut tandem mutuo erga se animo vellet esse. inter haec morte praeventus est maiore hominum damno quam suo.

10. Spectaculis absolutis, in quorum fine populo coram ubertim fleverat, Sabinos petit aliquanto tristior, quod sacrificanti hostia aufugerat quodque tempestate serena tonuerat. deinde ad primam statim mansionem febrim nanctus, cum inde lectica transferretur, suspexisse dicitur dimotis pallulis caelum, multumque conquestus eripi sibi vitam immerenti; neque enim extare ullum suum factum paenitendum excepto dum taxat uno. id quale fuerit, neque ipse tunc 2

prodidit neque cuiquam facile succurrat. quidam opinantur consuetudinem recordatum, quam cum fratris uxore habuerit; sed nullam habuisse persancte Domitia iurabat, haud negatura, si qua omnino fuisset, immo etiam gloriatura, quod illi promptissimum erat in omnibus probris.

11. Excessit in eadem qua pater villa Id. Sept. post biennium ac menses duos diesque XX quam successerat patri, altero et quadragesimo aetatis anno. quod ut palam factum est, non secus atque in domestico luctu maerentibus publice cunctis, senatus prius quam edicto convocaretur ad curiam concurrit, obseratisque adhuc foribus, deinde apertis, tantas mortuo gratias egit laudesque congessit, quantas ne vivo quidem umquam atque praesenti.

COMMENTARY

1.1 The birth of Titus in a humble house located near the Septizodium; his early unpopularity prior to ascending the throne when he became an emperor well-loved by his subjects.

1.1 Titus cognomine paterno: Titus, whose full name was Titus Flavius Vespasianus, received the cognomen "Vespasianus" from his father, while his younger brother was given the maternal cognomen "Domitianus". Titus' nomen gentilicium "Flavius" is attested in numismatic evidence (BMC II 104, no. 496) and his praenomen, common to all Flavian emperors, was adopted exclusively by Titus as his personal name - undoubtedly to distinguish himself from his father of the same name. Absence of this praenomen in reference to Titus is rare (CIL 3.3213, 6.346 (?), 5.8110, 10.1402), but examples of the name "Vespasianus" by itself applied to Titus are sufficient to warrant the belief that the name could be used for both father and son, especially in the early Flavian period (cf. Jones, Num. Chron. 6 [1966] 63, who argues that early bronze coins from Smyrna with the inscription Ouespasianos Neotoros should be attributed to Titus).

1.1 odio: Dio also suggests that the Roman people were not well-disposed towards Vespasian's elder son prior to his accession (66.8.1f.; see note 7.1: conversaque est in maximas laudes).

1.1 natus est III Kal. Ian.: Suetonius' information that Titus was born on the thirtieth of December is corroborated by the calendar of Philocalus (CIL 1^2, p. 278). The only evidence to the contrary is presented by Polemius Silvius who gives December twenty-eighth as the

date of Titus' birth (CIL 1^2, p. 279).

1.1 insigni anno Gaiana nece: Suetonius places Titus' birth in the year of Caligula's assassination, that is in A.D. 41 (Suet. Gaius 8.1, 59.1), yet in Titus 11.1 he states that the emperor died two years, two months and twenty days after he succeeded Vespasian (i.e. on June 24 A.D. 79) at the age of forty-one. The precision of the numbers in the latter account argues for their reliability, since it is unlikely that Suetonius would have resorted to such minute detail had he not been certain about the figures in Titus 11.1 (Tito 19, n. 2). How then is the discrepancy to be explained? Suetonius himself may have computed the year of Titus' birth from the figures he records in Titus 11.1 and, in doing so, made a mistake. For instance, by reckoning the year of birth from Titus' age when he acquired imperial power rather than from his age at death, he could have miscalculated the year (PIR^2 F399). Various other interpretations have been offered to account for the error. It has been conjectured that Suetonius simply confused Titus with Britannicus, his boyhood companion born in A.D. 41 (see note 2.1: cum Britannico), a discussion of whom immediately follows chapter one (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2697). Alternatively, it was perhaps the author's unintentional desire to compare Titus with Gaius which led to the inaccuracy (Tito 19, n. 2; Levi, PP 9 [1954] 288). For some reason, however, none of the other sources make the point that the same year witnessed the death of an emperor so hated by the Roman people and the birth of one greatly loved.

The question of Suetonius' sources is also relevant here. If the

author used two or more historical sources for the life of Titus, conflicting accounts in these sources on the birth of Titus may explain the discrepancy in the dates presented in the opening and closing chapters of the work. As it happens, the details contained in various other extant sources substantiate A.D. 39 rather than 41 as the year of Titus' birth (Dio 66.18.4; Eutrop. 7.22; Epit. de Caes. 10.5; Philostr. VA 6.30; see Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2697 for the argument that Philostratus should not be included as evidence for 39 A.D.). Aurelius Victor (Caes. 10.5) alone gives evidence for 41, in saying that Titus died in his fortieth year, but his account is probably based on Suetonius' Titus 1.1. On the basis of the data which Suetonius presents in Titus 11.1 and the evidence which supports it, the standard view is that 39 A.D. is almost certainly the year of Titus' birth.

1.1 prope Septizonium: This is the first known occurrence of this Latin substantive, later more commonly spelled septizodium (Dombart, RE^2 4 [1923] 1578; for the variant spellings of the word and the different interpretations ascribed to it, see Appendix 2). Several such structures are known to have existed (CIL 8.2657, 8.14372), but this is the only reference to one in Rome before the more famous Septizodium Severi, built by the emperor Septimius Severus in A.D. 203 (H.A. Sev. 19.5, 24.3; H.A. Geta 7.2; Amm. Marc. 15.7.3; CIL 6.1032).

1.1 sordidis aedibus cubiculo vero perparvo et obscuro: With this description of Titus' birthplace, Suetonius draws attention to the modest circumstances of the Flavian family at this time in relation

to their future position. Vespasian's father had been an eques, but the family attained senatorial rank through Vespasian's brother, T. Flavius Sabinus (Suet. Vesp. 1.2f.). Vespasian also had assumed the senatorial garb and his career, at the time of Titus' birth, had consisted of a military post in Thrace, a quaestorship in Crete and Cyrene and an initially unsuccessful attempt to win an aedileship, an office which he did hold in A.D. 38 (Suet. Vesp. 2.2f.; Dio 59.12.3; PIR^2 F398). Thus, he was still a minor figure in Roman officialdom. After a praetorship in 39, however, the freedman Narcissus assisted in furthering his career with the appointment of a legionary command in Germany (Suet. Vesp. 4.1; Joseph. BJ 3.4; PIR^2 F398).

2.1 Titus' education in the Claudian court with the emperor's son, Britannicus; the death of Britannicus and statues later erected by Titus to his memory.

2.1 educatus in aula: The privilege of an education in the imperial court was bestowed on the sons of illustrious families and foreign dynasts (Roman Life I 81-82). The practice began under Augustus (Suet. Aug. 48; CIL 6.8980); for example, Marcus Julius Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, was educated with Tiberius' son Drusus in the Augustan court (Joseph. AJ 18.143, 18.191). Neither Tiberius nor Gaius maintained the policy, but it was re-instituted under Claudius. In addition to Titus, Agrippa II, the son of the aforementioned Agrippa, lived at the Claudian court. Since Agrippa II was present in the imperial household from a period prior to his father's death in 44 A.D. until he was granted the kingdom of Chalcis in A.D.

49/50 (Joseph. AJ 19.360, 20.104; Jones, The Herods of Judaea [1967] 217-218), he and Titus were probably acquainted before their respective involvement in the Judaean war.

Under the influence of Narcissus, Vespasian had been appointed legate in Germany; transferred to Britain in command of Claudius' second legion, he served with such distinction that he received triumphalia ornamenta (Suet. Vesp. 4.1f.; Joseph. BJ 3.5; for the meaning of the conferment of triumphalia ornamenta, see Eicholz, Britannia 3 [1972] 158-163). Vespasian's elevation to the position of a distinguished Roman commander during the early years of Claudius' reign also opened avenues of advancement for his son. To judge from the assistance which Narcissus offered Vespasian's career, he may have secured for Titus the opportunity of an imperial education. At all events, Titus' presence in the Claudian court would certainly seem to date to a time when the power of Narcissus with the emperor was supreme and Britannicus' upbringing of prime concern; presumably this was before the advent of Agrippina in A.D. 49.

2.1 cum Britannico: Tiberius Claudius Caesar Britannicus, son of the emperor Claudius and his third wife, Valeria Messalina, is generally believed to have been born on February 21, A.D. 41 (Suet. Claud. 27.1; Tac. Ann. 13.15; cf. Suet. Claud. 27.1; Tac. Ann. 12.25; for a discussion of the conflicting evidence for the date, see Geer, TAPA 62 [1931] 66f.). Originally named Claudius Tiberius Germanicus, Britannicus was given his cognomen to commemorate his father's victories in Britain (Suet. Claud. 27.1; Dio 60.12.5, 60.22.2; PIR^2 C820; AE

1946, no. 237). As Claudius' sole surviving son, he was the heir apparent; yet in 50 A.D. Claudius adopted Agrippina's son Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, three years Britannicus' senior. In the following year Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus prematurely assumed the toga virilis and received other honors which marked him as Claudius' heir (Tac. Ann. 12.41; Suet. Ner. 7.2; CIL 6.921; BMC I 175-177, nos. 79-81, 88-94; for the early life of Nero up to his accession, see Geer, op. cit. 57-67). He came to the throne in 54 A.D., while Britannicus died in the second year of his reign.

2.1 ac paribus disciplinis: Titus and Britannicus received training in the martial arts; they were schooled in rhetoric and Latin and Greek verse and their curriculum also included instruction in music (Suet. Tit. 3.2; Ner. 33.2). Titus' education also had a political content; through his teacher Sosibius and his patron Narcissus, Titus could hardly have failed to acquire some knowledge of imperial politics, especially when the palace became rife with intrigues after Agrippina's arrival. It can safely be assumed that Titus would have developed diplomatic skills, skills which he later would have employed to effect the reconciliation between his father and Gaius Licinius Mucianus, governor of Syria (Morford, Phoenix 22 [1968] 66). In his years at the Claudian court, therefore, Titus received a well-rounded education which subsequently proved invaluable.

2.1 apud eosdem magistros institutus: One of the teachers Suetonius mentions was Sosibius, probably a Claudian freedman (Tac. Ann. 11.1; Furneaux, The Annals of Tacitus II [1891] 55, n. 8). In 47 A.D.

Claudius rewarded this individual with a million sesterces for educating Britannicus and warning the emperor against Valerius Asiatus, whom Claudius subsequently had executed (Tac. Ann. 11.1, 11.4). A supporter of Messalina, Sosibius survived until ca. 51 A.D. when Agrippina engineered his death on the pretext that he was conspiring against Nero (Dio 60.32.5). He, thus, shared the fate of many who attended Britannicus (Dio 60.32.5). In addition to her methods of undermining Britannicus' position, Agrippina entrusted his education to tutors of her own naming (Dio 60.32.5; Tac. Ann. 12.41), a circumstance which, no doubt, led to a deterioration in the calibre of both boys' education (Morford, op. cit. 66).

The praetorian prefects, Lucius Geta and Rufrius Crispinus, and their replacement, Sextus Afranius Burrus, probably saw to the military training of Titus and Britannicus along with Nero, who received his other schooling separately from the two boys under the tutor Lucius Annaeus Seneca (Tac. Ann. 13.2; Morford, op. cit. 66). Burrus himself was an excellent soldier (Tac. Ann. 12.42) and the military skills which Titus displayed in Germany and Judaea may be attributed, in some measure, to his training from the praetorian prefect (for the life and career of Burrus, see McDermott, Latomus 8 [1949] 229-254).

2.1 metoposcopum: Rolfe (Suetonius II 323, Loeb) mistranslates metoposcopum as "physiognomist". A physiognomist's art was to discover the temperament and character of his subject from his outward appearance (Cic. Fat. 5.10); a metoposcopist, on the other hand, judged a man's fortune by inspecting his forehead (Pliny HN 35.88). Hence, the

metoposcopist in this passage, after studying Titus' brow, predicts his future reign.

2.1 a Narcisso Claudi liberto: Narcissus was instrumental in the advancement of Vespasian's career (see note 1.1: sordidis aedibus ...; note 2.1: educatus in aula) and probably extended protection to Titus (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2697). He served as the emperor Claudius' private secretary (ab epistulis) (ILS 1666; Weaver, Familia Caesaris [1972] 263), in which office he amassed great personal wealth and exercised considerable influence over the emperor (Suet. Claud. 28; Juv. 14.329). It was Narcissus, for example, who urged Claudius to execute Messalina because of her bigamous marriage to Gaius Silius (Tac. Ann. 11.37; Juv. 14.330f.). In 48 A.D. quaestoria insignia, a senatorial honor, were bestowed on him following her death (Tac. Ann. 11.38; Weaver, op. cit. 282 with reference). Yet his power diminished after Claudius' marriage to Agrippina; he had been unsuccessful in promoting a marriage between Claudius and Aelia Paetina (Tac. Ann. 12.1) and had no more luck in championing Britannicus' claim to the throne (Tac. Ann. 12.65). According to Suetonius, it was principally because his friendship with Narcissus had incurred the hatred of Agrippina that Vespasian lived in semi-retirement after his tenure as consul suffectus late in 51 A.D. (Vesp. 4.2; PIR^2 F398). Agrippina's enmity proved so strong that, in the end, Narcissus was forced to commit suicide immediately after Claudius' death in A.D. 54 (Tac. Ann. 13.1).

2.1 de potione qua Britannicus hausta periit: Early in A.D. 55, before his fourteenth birthday, Britannicus was poisoned on Nero's in-

structions (Tac. Ann. 13.15; Suet. Ner. 33.2f.; Dio 61.1.7; Joseph. AJ 20.153; BJ 2.250). In Tacitus' opinion, Agrippina unwittingly caused the murder of Claudius' younger son; for, in response to Nero's slights to her authority, she reminded him that Britannicus, Claudius' natural son, was approaching the age when he could succeed to the throne (Ann. 13.14). Such a threat is considered perfectly in accord with Agrippina's character and one which Nero, no doubt, took to heart (Rogers, TAPA 86 [1955] 198-199). Recognizing Britannicus as a genuine and serious threat to his rule, he decided to eliminate his potential rival.

2.1 Titus quoque ... gustasse credatur gravique morbo adflictatus diu: Details of the poisoning of Britannicus are recounted in Suetonius' Nero (33.2f.) and Tacitus' Annales (13.15f.) both of which describe two separate attempts on Britannicus' life. After the first effort proved unsuccessful, Nero ordered stronger doses of poison and, according to Suetonius (Ner. 33.2), the potion administered to Britannicus rendered fatal results instanteously upon the first taste (cum ille ad primum gustum concidisset). His account there hardly agrees with the present passage in which Britannicus drained (hausta) the cup before he died, while Titus, who merely tasted the drink, escaped death. Suetonius, however, is quite often inconsistent; he, for example, gives two different dates for Titus' birth (see note 1.1: insigni anno Gaiana nece). How then can the divergent accounts be explained? Suetonius was perhaps using a different source here than he had previously or reporting hearsay, as the word credatur may imply. Alternatively, this passage might represent a compression of the two

attempts on Britannicus' life, in which case Britannicus' draining the cup and Titus' illness from the poison could be describing the earlier endeavor. It is strange, however, that neither Suetonius in the vita of Nero nor Tacitus make any mention of Titus. Thus, it is possible that the story of Titus tasting the poisonous drink is a later invention, particularly since it is questionable whether after Narcissus' death Vespasian would have had sufficient influence with the new emperor to have had his son remain in the imperial household, especially in the face of Agrippina's apparent animosity towards the elder Flavian (Price 6).

2.1 iuxta cubans: The use of cubans in this context is incorrect since several notations in the ancient sources state that it was the custom of Augustus and Claudius to have children seated and not reclining at banquets (Suet. Aug. 64.3; Claud. 32). The practice was maintained under Nero, as Tacitus specifically mentions at the outset of the passage on Britannicus' death (Ann. 13.16).

2.1 quorum omnium mox memor: In addition to the other memorials to Britannicus which are listed, it has been suggested that Titus struck a coin in honor of Claudius' son (Mattingly, Num. Chron. 10 [1930] 330-331; BMC II lxxviii). The coin in question, a bronze sestertius, carries on its obverse the legend (TI) CLAUDIUS AUG F BRITANNICUS and the bust of Britannicus (BMC II 293, no. 306). It was originally assigned to the last years of Claudius' reign (BMC I clix); yet, if struck ca. 54 A.D., it would have appeared at a time when no aes were being minted at Rome. For this reason, it is not impossible that the

coin was issued by Titus ca. 80 A.D. as a tribute to his boyhood friend.

3.2 Titus' personal abilities and accomplishments

3.2 Latine Graeceque vel in orando vel in fingendis poematibus: Pliny the Elder gives further evidence of Titus' eloquence and poetic skill in the preface to his Natural History which is addressed to Titus (praef. 5). Pliny also speaks of a poem written by Titus in A.D. 76 which became famous in his own time (HN 2.89; cf. Eutrop. 21.1: poemata et tragoedias Graece composuit). Furthermore, Titus undoubtedly collaborated with his father in the composition of the Commentarii on their Jewish campaigns (Bardon, Les empereurs et les lettres latines [1968] 272, who argues that the work probably covered all of Vespasian's career; cf. Syme I 178, where it is stated that in all likelihood they did not extend beyond a military record of the Judaean war). In addition to Pliny's praise of Titus' skills as an orator, Eutropius calls him facundissimus (21.1). Titus displayed this talent in a variety of capacities (Suet. Tit. 4.2: Foro operam dedit; cf. Eutrop. 21.1; Tit. 6.1: orationesque in senatu recitaret; see Bardon, op. cit. 278-280, for references to the addresses Titus made to the soldiers in Judaea, as recorded by Josephus).

3.2 imitarique chirographa quaecumque vidisset ac saepe profiteri maximum falsarium esse potuisse: Titus' abilities as a forger make plausible Domitian's accusation that Titus falsified Vespasian's will (Suet. Dom. 2.3; Rolfe, TAPA 45 [1914] 42-46; Morford, Phoenix 22

[1968] 71). We know from Suetonius' Vespasian 25 that, prior to his death, Vespasian stated clearly that his sons were to inherit the throne, but did Vespasian name his sons joint rulers in his will, as Rolfe hypothesizes, or did he mention Titus as his immediate heir to be followed by Domitian? Rolfe's argument rests on the assumption that the only means whereby Vespasian could ensure the succession of both his sons was to designate them as co-rulers, or to instruct Titus to adopt his brother. Since there is no evidence for the latter occurrence, he concludes that Titus and Domitian were probably named as joint heirs to the throne (Rolfe, op. cit. 45). There are other possibilities, however, which Rolfe overlooks. In the first place, Vespasian may have merely asked Titus to acknowledge Domitian as his successor, a request with which Titus complied (Tit. 9.3). It is worth noting in this connection that Titus offered his brother the hand of Julia, his daughter, in marriage (Suet. Dom. 22) and that a union between Domitian and Titus' only child would have strengthened Domitian's dynastic claim to the throne (cf. Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 83, who proposes that Titus may have withheld imperial powers from Domitian in hopes that he himself would have a son as his successor; Titus' proposal that Domitian marry Julia seems to suggest otherwise). On the other hand, Vespasian could have made some provision in his will for Domitian to share the imperial powers in the way Titus had during his rule. This would not have made Domitian co-ruler any more than Titus whose powers had been secondary to his father's (see Fishwick, Historia 20 [1971] 485-487; note 6.1: neque ex eo destitit participem ..., for Titus' position during his father's reign). If so, it may have been these requests that were falsified.

For, while Domitian was granted the consulship in A.D. 80 with his brother, he received neither the tribunician power nor the title imperator. Again, Vespasian may have instructed Titus that, once he had designated his brother as his successor, he could confer other imperial powers at his own discretion or after an intervening period, just as Vespasian had done in the case of Titus. In that case, Titus' death will have put an end to the granting of any further powers. All that seems clear is that Titus could have employed his talents as a forger if he had any reason or desire to alter his father's will. Under these circumstances, Domitian's resentment over his exclusion may have provoked the allegation of forgery, simply because he knew Titus was capable of it (see further, note 9.3: fratrem insidari ...).

4.1 Titus' early military service in Germany and Britain

4.1 tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia: In any attempt to fix the date of Titus' military tribuneship, the passage in Dio (61.30.1) which claims that Titus saved his father's life while serving in Britain can be dismissed as totally improbable. Even though Vespasian could have been stationed in Britain as late as 47 A.D. (Eicholz, Britannia 3 [1972] 156), Titus would still have been a young boy at the time. It may be that Dio's epitomizer Xiphilinus was responsible for the error and the original incident which Dio recorded occurred during the Judaean war (Eicholz, op. cit. 154).

In accordance with Augustan practice, Titus would have served as a tribunus laticlavus before entering the Senate as a quaestor. Since

the earliest date on which Titus would have qualified for the quaestorship, the minimum age requirement for the office being twenty-five years, was late A.D. 64, his military tribuneship, in all probability, dates prior to late 64/65 A.D.. In light of the fact that the elder Pliny who served in Germany until 57/58 A.D. is known to have been Titus' castrensis contubernalis (Pliny HN praef. 3), it has been suggested that Vespasian's elder son held his tribuneship in 57 or 58 A.D. (Tito 21, n. 13; Syme II 779). This should not, however, be viewed as conclusive proof for the dates as Titus and Pliny may have served together later in Judaea (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2698; RE 41 [1951] 279-280).

It is not known in which legion Titus served while in Germany; if he was tribune there in 58, he was present in the province during a period of considerable military activity (Garzetti, From Tiberius to the Antonines [1974] 180). Similarly, the legion to which Titus was assigned in Britain is not attested nor is there any evidence of a German legion being transferred to Britain during this period (RE 24 [1924] 1363). In A.D. 60, however, two thousand legionaries were sent from the forces on the Rhine to the IX legion Hispania in Britain (Tac. Ann. 14.38; Syme II 465f.). Possibly Titus was transferred to Britain at this time.

4.1 meruit summa[e] industriae nec minore modestiae[t] fama: Tacitus corroborates Suetonius' praise of Titus' military abilities while tribune. In a speech designed to induce Vespasian to strive for imperial power, Mucianus remarks that Titus had showed himself to be a bril-

lant soldier in his first years of military service in Germany (Hist. 2.77). However distinguished Titus' military achievements in Germany were, he did not receive the honorary title "Germanicus" (cf. Tito 21, n. 4). Weynand (RE 12 [1909] 2697), misinterpreting Tacitus (Hist. 3.66), attributes the cognomen to Titus, but in this he is in error, having confused Titus with the son of Vitellius (Tac. Hist. 2.59; Dio 64.4.5). A coin, which bears the inscription IMP CAES T VESP AUG GERM, has also been regarded as evidence that Titus possessed such a cognomen (Cohen, Description historique des monnaies frapées sous l'empire Romain I [1955] 449, no. 241; Price 18), but the coin in question is one of the emperor Trajan which has been altered (BMC II 268; cf. BMC III 226, nos. 1062-1069 for the legend IMP CAES TRAIAN AUG GERM). Even so, the granting of a title of honor to a military tribune would have been most unusual.

4.1 sicut apparet: Because he views Suetonius' choice of words here to be emphatic, Syme conjectures that Suetonius or his source had personally seen the memorials to Titus. This perhaps indicates that the biographer had been a member of Hadrian's retinue when the emperor visited Gaul, Germany and Britain in A.D. 121/122 (Syme II 779). On the other hand, it has been suggested that Suetonius' knowledge was derived from senatorial records (Dennison, AJArch 2 [1898] 53).

This passage as interpreted by Syme is almost the only internal evidence that the lives of the Flavians were a later supplement to Suetonius' De vita Caesarum (Syme II 779f.; see note 10.2: immo etiam gloriatura ...).

4.1 statuarum et imaginum eius multitudine ac titulis per utramque provinciam: It is very unlikely that any such statues and images were erected to Titus before the Flavian reign (Tito 21, n. 14). A dedicatory inscription in Germany styles him Imperator Titus Caesar (CIL 13.8235) and the titulature would date the inscription to the period after 71 A.D.. Similarly, inscriptions to Titus in Britain, though not honorary, were set up after Vespasian assumed imperial power (CIL 7.1204, 1205; Dennison, AJArch 2 [1898] 53 with reference).

A gold statue of Titus was erected between July A.D. 77 and mid-April 78 A.D. in Baetica, Spain (AE 1957, no. 251). The statue is of particular significance because the use of gold seems to imply divine honors (for the establishment of a provincial cult at Baetica by Vespasian, see Fishwick, Historia 19 [1970] 97f., 111; Fishwick, JRS 62 [1972] 48).

4.2 *Titus' pleading in the forum; his marriages and the birth of his daughter*

4.2 foro operam dedit: The trial of lawsuits in the early Empire took place in the forum Romanum, forum Caesaris and forum Augusti (Mart. 3.38; Mooney, De vita Caesarum: Libri VII-VIII [1930] 474). For a man to plead on another's behalf in such cases was common, as is evidenced by several letters of the younger Pliny (Epp. 6.2, 6.29, 6.33). The younger Pliny, who began his career in the courts at the age of eighteen (Ep. 5.8), was pleading just before the time he entered the tribunate (Ep. 1.23). Thus, it would seem usual for a man

of Titus' station in life to pursue such an occupation, if only for a brief period (Roman Life and Manners I 120-122). It was also not unknown for members of the imperial family to act in this capacity; Nero as a young man, for example, pleaded two cases in the presence of his adoptive father, the emperor Claudius (Suet. Ner. 7.2).

4.2 eodemque tempore Arrecinam Tertullam ... duxit uxorem: The words eodemque tempore would seem to make Titus' marriage contemporaneous with his pleading in the forum, which, according to the chronology presented by Suetonius, took place after his military tribuneship (post stipendia). Although additional information which would ascribe a date to the union is not extant, it has been suggested that Titus married Arrecina Tertulla in the early 60's - a reasonable hypothesis, particularly if Titus served as military tribune as early as 57/58 A.D. (Townend, JRS 51 [1961] 57; see note 4.1: tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia).

There may have been a family connection between Titus and his first wife as Vespasian's grandmother also possessed the cognomen Tertulla (Suet. Vesp. 2.1). The name, however, is attested as a common one in many gentes (Townend, op. cit. 56, n. 7).

4.2 patre eq. R. sed praefecto quondam praetorianarum cohortium: Marcus Arrecinus Clemens, father of Arrecina Tertulla, was praetorian prefect during the reign of the emperor Gaius (Tac. Hist. 4.68; Joseph. AJ 19.37; PIR^2 A1073). Although not an active participant, he was involved in the conspiracy against Caligula which led to his assassination

(Joseph. AJ 19.37f.; Suet. Gaius 56.1). Arrecina Tertulla's brother, M. Arrecinus Clemens, also served as praetorian prefect (see note 6.1: numquam ad id tempus nisi ab eq. R. administratam).

4.2 in defunctae locum: The date of Arrecina Tertulla's death is not known, but a terminus antequam for her death can be deduced from from the information presented by Suetonius. Julia, daughter of Titus and Marcia Furnilla, presumably could not have been born any later than 66 A.D. (see note 4.2: sublata filia); Titus' marriage to his second wife, therefore, took place before 66. Consequently Arrecina Tertulla must have been dead, at the latest, by A.D. 65.

4.2 Marciam Furnillam splendidi generis: Marcia Furnilla was probably the daughter of Antonia Furnilla and Q. Marcius Barea Sura (CIL 6.31766; PIR^2 A890; see note 4.2: divortium fecit).

4.2 sublata filia: This filia, although she is unnamed in the vita of Titus (cf. Tit. 5.2), is presumed to be Julia (cf. Castritus, Historia 18 [1969] 492-494; on the origin of the nomen Julia, see Appendix 3); the name Julia is attested in various other sources (Suet. Dom. 17.3, 22; Mart. 6.3, 6.13; CIL 6.2059; AFA 117.26; BMC II 247, nos. 139-144). Her full name is believed to have been Flavia Julia (PIR^2 F426; cf. RE suppl. 6 [1935] 1346), but she received the title Augusta during her father's reign and was known as Julia Augusta (CIL 6.2059, 9.2588; BMC II 247, nos. 139-144). That Julia took the cognomen Sabina after her marriage to T. Flavius Sabinus is improbable (RE suppl. 6 [1935] 1346).

The year of Julia's birth is not recorded; yet she was, in all likelihood, born no later than 66 A.D.. Her father was absent from Rome after 66 or early 67 and it is known that she was born before he returned to the city as Titus took Jerusalem on her birthday in A.D. 70 (Tit. 5.2). On the basis of the dates given in Josephus' Bellum Iudaicum (6.407), it has been calculated that Titus completed the conquest of Jerusalem ca. September 7/8 A.D. 70; hence, this may be accepted as the birthdate of Julia.

4.2 divortium fecit: Titus probably divorced his wife before he went to Judaea in A.D. 67 (Townend, JRS 51 [1961] 57). Suetonius gives no reason for the divorce, but the family of his wife may have been the cause. Because of the common cognomen Barea, it is possible that Marcia Furnilla's father, Q. Marcius Barea Sura, was the brother of Barea Soranus (PIR^2 B55; RE 5 [1897] 13). Barea Soranus had held a proconsulship in Asia, after which he was charged with sedition by Nero and forced to commit suicide in A.D. 66 (Tac. Ann. 16.21f.; Dio 62.26.1 who places his death among the events of 65). As a result of this disgrace to his wife's family, Titus may have decided that the marriage was not to his advantage and ended the union (Townend, op. cit. 57). In this case, the divorce would have occurred ca. 66.

4.3 Titus' quaestorship; his appointment to a legionary command under his father and his early efforts in the Jewish war

4.3 ex quaesturae deinde honore: Titus was eligible to hold the quaestorship in 64 A.D. (see note 4.1: tribunus militum et in Ger-

mania et in Britannia); yet because he turned twenty-five late in that year, it is more probable that he held the office in 65 or 66 A.D.. Mayer favors 66, arguing that deinde indicates that Titus' legionary post in Judaea immediately followed his quaestorship (Tito 22, n. 18 with reference). 65 A.D. is favored by others (Tito 22, n. 18; Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2698).

4.3 legioni praepositus: Upon the receipt of the news that Judaea had revolted, Nero appointed Vespasian commander of the campaign against the Jews (Joseph. BJ 3.3-5). Early in 67 A.D. Vespasian advanced from Antioch to Ptolemais where he met his son Titus and placed him in command of the XV legion Apollinaris which Titus had brought from Alexandria on his father's orders (Joseph. BJ 3.29, 3.64f.). It has been suggested that Titus led the fifteenth from Alexandria in Syria rather than from the Egyptian capital (Tito 39-41, n. 3). It seems that the legion was in Armenia until the late summer or autumn of A.D. 66 (Tac. Ann. 15.25f.; Saxer, Epigraphische Studien 1 [1967] 12) and for this reason, it is perhaps more likely that the legion travelled the shorter distance from Armenia to Syria than from Armenia to Egypt in the period between mid-66 and when Titus assumed his command.

4.3 Tarichaeas et Gamalam urbes Iudaeae validissimas: Located in Galilee on the southwest tip of Lake Gennesaret (Sea of Galilee), Taricheae formed part of the Roman province of Judaea during the reign of Claudius, but was annexed to Agrippa II's kingdom by Nero (Joseph. BJ 2.252). Opposite Taricheae lay Gamala, east of the Sea

of Galilee. This city had been built on a steep ridge resembling a camel's hump from which it derived its name. Approach to the city was barred on three sides by deep ravines and on the southern promontory a citadel of great height stood which was unwalled, but protected by a sheer precipice (Joseph. BJ 2.569). At the outset of the Jewish rebellion Josephus was given command of the two Galilees and the city of Gamala; both these cities were subsequently fortified against the Romans (Joseph. BJ 2.574).

4.3 in potestatem redegit: Suetonius singles out two battles during the first year of the Roman campaign in Judaea (67 A.D.) in which Titus played a decisive role. After initial victories in the Galilean area, Vespasian despatched Titus to Taricheae which his son conquered with the help of M. Ulpius Traianus, father of the future emperor, and Antonius Silius (Joseph. BJ 3.470-502). Later in 67 Vespasian undertook to bring Gamala into submission. Because of the city's strongly fortified position, the inhabitants succeeded in repulsing Vespasian's first attack (Joseph. BJ 3.11-38); when Titus returned from deliberations with Mucianus, governor of Syria, he led an expeditionary force which gave victory to the Romans (Joseph. BJ 3.70-83). From the scanty information which Suetonius gives of these two battles it is impossible to state whether Josephus is his source. He does, however, describe two battles in which, according to Josephus, Titus' military abilities were instrumental in the achievement of victory, a fact which may indicate that he had consulted Josephus' work on the Jewish war.

4.3 equo quadam acie sub feminibus amisso alteroque inscenso cuius rector circa se dimicans occubuerat: It has been suggested that this incident took place during the battle of Taricheae (Josephus III 714, note a with reference, Loeb). Although Titus led a cavalry charge in this battle, there is no specific reference to such an occurrence in Josephus' work. If the incident does belong here, it may be that Suetonius was using another source.

5.1 *Galba becomes emperor; Titus is sent by his father to congratulate the new ruler; the popular belief that Titus was to be adopted by Galba; Galba's death and Titus' return to Judaea; Titus' visit to the Paphian Venus where he consults the oracle and is given hope of future rule*

5.1 Galba mox tenente rem p.: On April 6 A.D. 68 Servius Sulpicius Galba, then governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, refused his soldiers' salutation of imperator and had himself designated legatus of the Senate and the Roman people (Plut. Galba 5.2; Suet. Galba 10.1); although his reign was numbered from that day (Dio 64.6.5; Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 15 [1938] 32, comments that there is no evidence for Galba's tribunician day), he did not call himself Emperor. There is some question as to whether Gaius Julius Vindex, after he had secured Galba's support for his revolt against Nero, proclaimed Galba emperor (Suet. Galba 9.2: humano generi assertorem ducemque; cf. Dio 63.23; Plut. Galba 22.2), but because coins minted in Gaul and Spain at the time do not bear his image and titles, Brunt concludes that while Vindex intended Galba to succeed Nero, he did not name him emperor

(Brunt, Latomus 18 [1959] 535f.). When Nero committed suicide on June 9 A.D. 68 (PIR^2 D129; for June 11 as the date of his death, see Reece, AJPhil 90 [1969] 72-74), the Roman Senate immediately elected Galba emperor. He now adopted the title Imperator (BMC I 338-340, nos. 168-180; see Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 25 [1957] 24, for Galba's use of Imperator), although he did not assume the full imperial title until later, probably after his meeting with the senatorial envoys at Narbo, which is believed to have taken place in early July A.D. 68 (Plut. Galba 11.1; BMC I ciii, ccviii).

5.1 missus ad gratulandum: Titus was probably sent by his father to congratulate the new emperor in late A.D. 68 since he had advanced only as far as Corinth by January of the following year (Tac. Hist. 2.1). In all likelihood, he did not depart from Judaea until word had reached Vespasian that Galba had arrived in Rome, which would have been in the fall of 68 at the earliest (Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 68, n. 21 with references; Wellesley, The Long Year A.D. 69 [1975] 42). If Suetonius is correct about Vespasian's belief that Galba had sent assassins from Spain to Judaea to murder him (Galba 23), a dubious piece of information as there is no other evidence for it, this news probably would have come to his attention after he despatched his son (for Vespasian's tributes to Galba's memory, see BMC I 351-361, nos. 237-266; Tac. Hist. 4.20; Gagé, REA 54 [1952] 293; cf. Ferrill, CJ 60 [1964] 267-269, for his treatment of Otho and Vitellius).

Titus' journey is recounted not only by Suetonius, but also by

Tacitus and Josephus, both of whom are more explicit about Vespasian's motives for the mission. Josephus records that apart from conveying appropriate good wishes to the new ruler, a suitable task for an elder son, Vespasian wished to learn how the new emperor would view the Jewish war and whether the change of princeps would effect any change in policy towards Judaea (BJ 4.498). According to Tacitus (Hist. 2.1), on the other hand, Vespasian despatched his son to Rome in hopes that Titus could begin his political career by the grace of the new ruler. While Vespasian's ambition for his son cannot be denied (see note 5.1: quasi adoptionis gratia arcesseretur), there were, doubtless, political advantages for a commander in Judaea to have a spokesman in Rome. These were probably all motives for the journey, but it is of interest that the incident is given such prominence by the three authors. Perhaps they reflect an emphasis assigned to the tale by the Flavians who may have used it to illustrate their allegiance to Galba and to intimate that by divine will they inherited the imperial mantle from him (Wellesley, op. cit. 44).

5.1 quasi adoptionis gratia arcesseretur: Galba was a childless old man when he acceded to the throne and the designation of an heir was expected. There is no reason to believe that Titus was considered, but this does not rule out the possibility that Vespasian and Mucianus planned to secure Titus' adoption by Galba by sending him to Rome (Crook, AJPhil 72 [1951] 162-163; Waters, Phoenix 17 [1963] 214; Wellesley, op. cit. 44). As it happened, Titus had not yet reached the city when Galba concluded that the German disturbances necessitated the selection of an heir. Galba adopted L. Calpurnius Piso

Frugi Licianus on January 10 A.D. 69 (Suet. Galba 17; Tac. Hist. 2.1).

5.1 sed ubi turbari rursus cuncta sensit: Galba was murdered on January 15 A.D. 69, the victim of a conspiracy led by Marcus Salvius Otho, one of the emperor's early supporters (Tac. Hist. 1.27f.). Even before Galba's death, however, news had reached Rome of disaffection among the legions on the Upper Rhine (Tac. Hist. 1.12). On January 2/3 69 Aulus Vitellius, legate of lower Germany, was proclaimed imperator by the legions of the Upper and Lower German armies (Tac. Hist. 1.55f.). There are indications that the German revolt had been planned several weeks before and, perhaps, even before Vitellius' arrival in the province (Chilver, JRS 47 [1957] 33; Hainsworth, Historia 11 [1962] 87). Otho's overtures to Vitellius proved unsuccessful (Suet. Otho 8.1; Tac. Hist. 1.74) and civil war once again ensued.

5.1 redit ex itinere: Titus was in Corinth when the news of Galba's death and the struggle between Otho and Vitellius reached him (Tac. Hist. 2.1). He then had to decide on which course of action he should follow - whether he should proceed to Rome or return to Judaea. With the current state of instability in Italy Titus concluded that his position and that of his father would be in greater jeopardy if he went to Rome; if he return to Judaea, he would leave with his father the decision of whom to support (Tac. Hist. 2.1). It was, no doubt, such political considerations rather than a longing for Berenice which determined Titus' decision to return to Judaea; at least, Titus later proved willing to sacrifice Berenice for the State (Tac. Hist.

2.2; Suet. Tit. 7.2; Tito 45, n. 70). At all events, the idea that Titus sailed from Greece under divine impulse can be dismissed (Joseph. BJ 4.501). Titus may have had an inkling that victory in the contest for the throne could depend on the army and that Vespasian with his military strength in the East could be a contender. Tacitus seems to allude to this (Hist. 2.1). Although this may simply be a statement after the fact, Titus' question to the Paphian Venus about Flavian chances of securing the imperial throne (5.1: etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est) could suggest he was giving consideration to the prospect early in A.D. 69 (Wellesley, The Long Year A.D. 69 [1975] 44).

5.1 aditoque Paphiae Veneris oraculo: The fullest account of the Paphian Venus is contained in Tacitus' Histories (2.2f.) which describes Titus' visit to the site, but includes a digression on the cult's origins, the temple ritual and worship of Venus (for a discussion of the ancient source material on the history and antiquities of Paphos, see James, JHS 9 [1888] 175-192). Tacitus (Hist. 2.3) states clearly that the form of divination practiced at the shrine was extispicium, that is prophesy from an inspection of entrails, in this case of kids (haedorum fibris).

5.1 dum de navigatione consulit: Titus learned, presumably from Sostratus, priest of Venus, that the auspices for his voyage back to Judaea were favorable (Tac. Hist. 2.4).

5.1 etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est: This incident, like

Vespasian's consultation of the oracle of the god Carmel (Suet. Vesp. 5.6; Tac. Hist. 2.58; for Vespasian's use of divine prophesies, see Derchain and Hubaux, Latomus 12 [1953] 38-52; Hermann, Latomus 12 [1953] 312-315; Waters, Phoenix 17 [1963] 209), most probably reflects later Flavian propaganda which sought to legitimize the family's imperial power with religious omens (Tito 45, n. 72). Unlike the Julio-Claudians, the Flavians could hardly claim divine descent. The statement itself is only one of several in which Suetonius forecasts the future rule of Titus (cf. Tit. 2.1, 5.1) nor is this a literary technique peculiar to the vita of Titus (cf. Vesp. 5.6; Galba 9.2; Vitell. 9).

5.2 *Vespasian is proclaimed emperor; Titus is given sole command of the Jewish war and completes the capture of Jerusalem; the soldiers hail Titus imperator*

5.2 cuius brevi compos: The implication of this passage is that Vespasian had been established as the imperial ruler late in A.D. 69 before Titus undertook the final conquest of Judaea. Vespasian was first hailed imperator on July 1 A.D. 69 by the soldiers at Alexandria (Tac. Hist. 2.79; Suet. Vesp. 6.3; cf. Joseph. BJ 4.601f., 4.616f.; see Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 74, for his comments on Josephus' account). Senatorial recognition of Vespasian as princeps came on December 23, 69 A.D. (Joseph. BJ 4.656; Tac. Hist. 4.3), but Vespasian adopted July first, that is the day of his first imperial salutation, as his dies imperii (for the significance of Vespasian's antedating the beginning of his imperium, see Hammond, Amer. Acad.

Rome 24 [1956] 77).

With the accession of their father, both Titus and Domitian received the titles Caesares and principes iuventutis (BMC II 8, nos. 45-46) as well as the designation Augusti filii (BMC II 1, nos. 1-5). Titus also entered the consulship (in absentia) for the first time with his father Vespasian in A.D. 70 (Tac. Hist. 4.3, 4.38). This was an irregular appointment as Titus had not yet held the praetorship.

Because the relative pronoun cuius has two possible antecedents, imperii and spe, there has been some question as to the meaning of cuius brevi compos. Interpretations that the passage signifies Titus' possession of proconsular imperium before the final expedition against the Jews are thought unlikely and the antecedent of cuius is most usually taken to be spe (Price 27-28; Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 78-79). Hammond comments that imperium may simply mean "command" (op. cit. 79), but in view of the fact that Suetonius had been discussing incidents which anticipated Titus' future reign, "empire" seems a more suitable translation, as Price has suggested (27-28). There can be little doubt that Suetonius saw Vespasian as one who intended to establish dynastic rule (cf. Vesp. 25).

5.2 ad perdomandum Iudaeam relictus: After Vespasian had been notified that the Senate had ratified him as emperor and before he left Alexandria for Rome, he appointed his son sole commander of the Judaean war (Tac. Hist. 4.51, 5.1, 5.10; Joseph. BJ 4.658). Titus

himself left Alexandria ca. April 1 A.D. 70 and proceeded to Caesarea (see Joseph. BJ 4.659-663 for his route; for dates, see Weber, Josephus und Vespasian [1973] 190). He had under his command the fifth, tenth and fifteenth legions of his father, except those detachments which Vespasian had despatched with Mucianus for the war in Italy, as well as the twelfth legion from Syria. He was joined by Tiberius Julius Alexander who brought troops from the twenty-second and third legions stationed in Alexandria (Joseph. BJ 5.41-46; Tac. Hist. 5.1). Alexander, a former prefect of Egypt (for the latest date which Alexander could have held the office, see Turner, JRS 44 [1954] 61, n. 44a with reference), served with Titus during the final stage of the Judaean war. It is known that he was the prefect of the Jewish army (Garzetti, From Tiberius to the Antonines [1974] 233, n. 1 with reference) and a recent papyrus fragment has also identified him as praefectus praetorio (Turner, op. cit. 61). Whether Alexander held the position on Titus' staff in Jerusalem or in Rome is debated (Turner, op. cit. 61-64). The extent of Alexander's power while in Jerusalem with Titus is unknown, but it has been suggested that it might have been considerable (Turner, op. cit. 62; Waters, Phoenix 17 [1963] 215).

5.2 novissima Hierosolyorum oppugnatione: Prior to his acclamation as imperator, Vespasian had reduced all the territory around Jerusalem (Joseph. BJ 4.588). The task of conquering the last stronghold of Jewish resistance was delegated to Titus. On April 23 A.D. 70 he began a siege of the city which lasted five months (for a description of the Roman siege, see Joseph. BJ 5.302-5.422; the topography of the

Judaean capital at the time is described in Tacitus' Histories 5.11-12 and Abel, Rev. bibl. 56 [1949] 238-258; recent archaeological studies relevant to Titus' siege are given by Hubbard, Palestine Exploration Quarterly 98 [1966] 149-152 and Kenyon, Palestine Exploration Quarterly 97 [1965] 17-18).

5.2 duodecim propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus: According to Josephus (BJ 5.288), Titus killed with his own hand twelve men in a battle over the Roman earthworks; this echo in Suetonius is a strong indication that the author used Josephus as a source for this portion of the vita.

5.2 cepitque: Jerusalem fell to the Roman forces September 7/8 A.D. 70 (Joseph. BJ 6.435-442). The notable event in the last stages of the war, however, was the destruction of the Jewish temple (August 10). The incident itself is controversial because two ancient sources who recount the capitulation of the temple - Josephus and Sulpicius Severus, a fourth century Christian writer - differ in their accounts as to whether or not Titus ordered the temple's destruction (for a discussion of the conflicting evidence, see Montefiore, Historia 11 [1962] 156-170; Weiler, Klio 50 [1968] 139-158).

5.2 ut in gratulatione imperatorem eum consalutaverint: According to Josephus (BJ 6.316), the soldiers hailed Titus imperator prior to the final capitulation of Jerusalem. This salutation is to be distinguished from his official acclamation as imperator which took place in A.D. 71 (see note 6.1: triumphavit cum patre). The fact that

Titus was not officially entitled to the designation *imperator* until 71 has led to the explanation that his salutation of 70 was an indication that Vespasian had bestowed a secondary proconsular *imperium* on his son before the final conquest of Judaea (*Tito* 70, n. 50 with references; Hammond, *Amer. Acad. Rome* 24 [1956] 78 with references; see note 5.2: *cuius brevi compos*). There is, however, no evidence in the ancient sources that such a power was conferred on Titus; he was to carry out and complete the Jewish war for his father (cf. *CIL* 6.944: *quod praeceptis patris consiliisque et auspiciis gentem Iudaeorum*). Moreover, a salutation as *imperator* does not imply any claim to *imperium proconsulare* (*Tito* 70, n. 50; Hammond, *op. cit.* 78). Whether Titus ever held a secondary proconsular *imperium* cannot be determined, but it is unlikely that he was granted such a power before his formal association with the regime (*Tito* 70, n. 50; Hammond, *op. cit.* 78-81; Turner, *JRS* 44 [1954] 62).

If, however, Titus did not possess *imperium proconsulare*, the salutation by the troops was unusual, particularly in that since Augustus the practice was to grant such salutations solely to the emperor or an heir who had held an extraordinary command such as Germanicus in A.D. 15 (Hammond, *Amer. Acad. Rome* 24 [1956] 78); in 22 A.D. Quintus Junius Blaesus was the last private individual to be allowed an acclamation as *imperator* by his troops (Tac. *Ann.* 3.74). It was, instead, the emperor who received the salutation for victories gained by a legate, the position which Titus appears to have held in Judaea. In the context of the events of A.D. 68/69 the salutation by the troops would seem to be instigation to revolt against the established

ruler and hence, the act was interpreted as an example of Titus' possible revolutionary aspirations in the East (Tit. 5.3). While nothing conclusive can be said about any designs which Titus might have had in the East (see note 5.3: unde nata suspicio est ...), it is noteworthy that Vespasian did not acknowledge Titus' first acclamation as imperator as he did his own. Not only did Vespasian date his imperial salutations from July 1 A.D. 69, but also his tribunician power and other imperial offices, although these were granted later (see note 5.2: cuius brevi compos; for Vespasian's use of the title Imperator, see Lesuisse, Ant. Class. 30 [1961] 426-428). Such was not the case with Titus. Perhaps this indicates either Vespasian's annoyance with his son's actions in the East (cf. Tac. Hist. 4.52 for Vespasian's reaction to Domitian's behavior in Rome) or an unwillingness to grant Titus the right to the title Imperator until he had returned to Rome and was firmly tied to his father's government.

Titus received his first imperial salutation in 71 A.D., but the use of Imperator in his titulature continued to vary. The title appears in three different positions during his father's reign, i.e. Imperator Titus Caesar Vespasianus, Titus Caesar Vespasianus Imperator, and Titus Caesar Imperator Vespasianus (Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 25 [1957] 27). From A.D. 72-79 he several times appears as Imperator Titus (Caesar) (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2709), but the majority of these inscriptions are from the provinces where standardization of imperial titles was more difficult to achieve (CIL 3.306, 6052, 6993; 8.875, 10116, 10119; cf. CIL 10.1420, 11.6000 from Italy; for earlier errors, see Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 82, n. 92). When Imperator

figures last in his imperial formula, it is generally accompanied by the number of the acclamation (CIL 2.5264, 4.1232, 4.2055, 11.5201). On coins minted at Rome Titus adopted the original practice of incorporating the military title into the body of his name and Titus Caesar Imperator Vespasianus is standard (BMC II xix and 14-15, nos. 80-85; cf. BMC II lxv and 280, no. 260.3). Hammond sees this position of Imperator as an indication that Titus was second to his father in terms of imperial power (Hammond, op. cit. 81). Whether the title signifies that Titus possessed a secondary proconsular imperium cannot be said with any certainty, but one suggestion is that the designation was granted as a mark of military conquest rather than a sign of any specific power (Hammond, op. cit. 81). When Titus succeeded to the throne, he assumed the imperial formula Imperator Titus Caesar Vespasianus (CIL 5.7988, 7989, 6.942; BMC II 223-236, nos. 1-82), thus, continuing his father's custom of using the title Imperator as his praenomen, a distinctive practice among the Flavian emperors (Lesuisse, Ant. Class. 30 [1961] 415-416; BMC II xix).

During the course of his father's reign, Titus received fourteen imperial salutations (see Appendix 4: Titus' Imperial Titles and Offices). Although the occasion of most of these is uncertain (see note 6.1: triumphavit cum patre; BMC II xxvi, n. 1 for probable occasions of Vespasian's imperial salutations), they correspond to Vespasian's acclamations in that Titus' title numbers are always six behind his father's. Titus received three additional salutations in his own reign. His fifteenth acclamation was granted for Agricola's achievements in Britain (Dio 66.20.3; for the date of this salutation

between July 1 and December 30 A.D. 79, see CIL 6.1246). The final two salutations which occurred between July A.D. 80 and 81 may also have been for successes in Britain (CIL 6.944, 1258; cf. CIL 3.318).

5.2 efflagitantes aut remaneret aut secum omnis pariter abduceret: The demands of the troops were presumably instigations to revolt; Titus was either to keep the legions together in the East, thereby setting up a power base for himself there, or to march to Rome with the four legions behind him and challenge his father's rule. It seems clear from Josephus that Titus took little or no account of his soldiers' demands. Immediately following the celebrations of the Jewish conquest, he sent the twelfth legion to Melitene on the Euphrates, stationing the tenth legion in Jerusalem (Joseph. BJ 7.17-18). The fifth and fifteenth legions accompanied him on his journeys through the various cities in the East until on leaving Alexandria for Rome he despatched the fifth to Moesia and the fifteenth to Pannonia (Joseph. BJ 7.19, 7.117).

5.3 Rumors that Titus intended to revolt from Vespasian and make himself king in the East; his acts which strengthened this belief; Titus' return to Rome

5.3 unde nata suspicio est quasi desciscere a patre: There is general agreement that any desire on the part of Titus to revolt against his father is unlikely and improbable (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2706-2708; Crook, AJPhil 72 [1951] 165; Tito 70-72, n. 50). Other sources attest the assistance which Titus rendered Vespasian in the estab-

lishment of the Flavian regime, notably in procuring G. Licinius Mucianus, governor of Syria, as an ally (Tac. Hist. 2.5, 2.77) and helping his father in Alexandria (Joseph. BJ 5.1f.; Dio 66.8.6). Notwithstanding evidence of loyalty prior to Vespasian's election, it remains possible that Titus could have become discontented once his father was emperor. For while there can be little doubt that, even at this time, Vespasian was planning that his sons would succeed him, following the precedent established by the Julio-Claudians (Waters, Phoenix 17 [1963] 215), Vespasian did not initially differentiate between his sons. Both received the titles Caesar and princeps iuventutis; Titus was elected consul for A.D. 70, but Domitian was accorded imperium consulare (Tac. Hist. 4.3). Moreover, since Vespasian's arrival in Rome ca. September 70 Domitian had been present at his father's side, a more advantageous position for securing imperial favors. Yet given the good relationship which existed between father and son, as evidenced by ancient authors, it seems unlikely that Titus alone would have been willing to act against his father. It might, however, be conjectured that Berenice, who at this time was still in the East, exercised some influence over Titus, as she did later in Rome. Encouraged by Titus' success at Jerusalem and the soldiers' acclamation, she may have urged Titus to secure the position of Vespasian's immediate heir, from which she would benefit if her wish to marry Titus was realized. Titus' actions in the East could then be interpreted as a means of demonstrating his strength in the region and convincing his father that by virtue of his military success and popularity in the East he deserved a position superior to that of Domitian.

Suetonius speaks of *suspiciones* and *rumores* about Titus' behavior and confirmation of the existence of such rumors is perhaps to be found in the CONCORDIA legends on the coinage of the period (Crook, *AJPhil* 72 [1951] 165; *BMC* II 95-98, nos. 454-455, 465-467, 470-472). This legend is far more prevalent in the early Flavian period and may suggest that Vespasian was worried about his son's behavior and how it would affect his newly-established rule. Yet Vespasian took no overt action against his son. Who then was responsible for promoting these rumors? Crook hints at Mucianus, but admits that giving Titus a bad press could have endangered an emperor whom he had helped to establish and from whom he benefitted (Crook, *op. cit.* 165). Apparently Titus did not lack enemies later, so perhaps responsibility rests with those nameless persons who were antagonistic either to Titus or the Flavian regime in general.

5.3 *Orientisque sibi regnum vindicare temptasset*: If there were suspicions about Titus' actions, this assertion is quite natural given that Titus' theater of operation had been the East since A.D. 67. The rumors would either have arisen or been strengthened by the demonstration of his soldiers' devotion, his visit to Memphis and the bull Apis and the wearing of the diadem. Although Suetonius does not mention it, the gift of the gold crown from the Parthian king may also have been viewed unfavorably (Joseph. *BJ* 7.105). Levi has suggested that Titus may have practiced a pro-Eastern policy during his father's reign and that this may have earned him the hostility of the aristocratic class in Rome (Levi, *PP* 9 [1954] 291-293). In that case, perhaps the rumor reflects this hostility.

5.3 Alexandriam petens: After the fall of Jerusalem, Titus was prevented from sailing to Rome because of the winter season (A.D. 70/71) and journeyed instead to various cities in Asia Minor where he held victory celebrations (Joseph. BJ 7.19-117). Josephus reports that he was present in Caesarea on October 24 A.D. 70 and in Berytus on November seventeenth of the same year (BJ 7.37, 7.39). From here he travelled to Antioch and then to Zeugma where he received an embassy from the Parthian king Vologaesus, a supporter of Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 6.4; Tac. Hist. 4.51). Vologaesus bestowed on him a golden crown for his Judaean victory (Joseph. BJ 7.105). On his return journey from Zeugma to Antioch (Joseph. BJ 7.106) it is possible that Titus made his purported trip to Tarsus in Cilicia where he allegedly held counsel with Apollonius of Tyana (Philostr. VA 6.29; Tito 74, n. 62). After he revisited Jerusalem, now in ruins, he proceeded to Alexandria (Joseph. BJ 7.116-117), where he arrived no earlier than May 6 A.D. 71 (Tito 74, n. 63 with reference).

5.3 in consecrando apud Memphim bove Apide: It is dubious whether Titus' attendance at the consecration of the bull Apis itself would have aroused Roman displeasure (Price 30). Although Augustus did not visit the divine beast (Suet. Aug. 93), Germanicus paid homage to Apis and received an ominous sign for his future (Pliny HN 8.185; Amm. Marc. 22.14.7). No mention is made of Germanicus' visit in Tacitus' account of his Egyptian journey (Ann. 2.59-61) and it has been suggested that Tacitus merely highlights aspects of Germanicus' trip, preferring to omit incidents which cast him as a man of religious superstitions (Weingaertner, Die Aegyptenreise des Germanicus [1969] 146).

5.3 diadema gestavit: The diadem, a common symbol of sovereignty among the Eastern dynasts and one assumed by Alexander the Great after his victory over Darius, was particularly displeasing to the Romans who loathed any overt manifestations of regnum (Livy 2.1; Suet. Jul. 79.2; Gaius 22.1). Hence, it is difficult to explain why Titus acted as he did, though there is no reason to believe Suetonius' account is fictitious (Crook, AJPhil 72 [1951] 165, n. 20). Perhaps Titus did not believe that wearing the diadem for an Eastern audience, where it was common practice, would offend Roman sensibilities. He may have felt he was entitled to wear it as the emperor's son, although there appears to be no evidence that it was assumed by dynasts' sons before the Constantinian period (RE 9 [1903] 303-304). The act, however, seems to have been misinterpreted and to have increased suspicions about the emperor's son (sed non deerant qui sequius interpretarentur) adding to the belief that Titus had designs for an Eastern empire as Alexander before him.

5.3 oneraria nave appulisset: It is clear from Suetonius' account that Titus wished to make his way to Rome as quickly as possible because of unfavorable rumors which were circulating about him (quare festinans in Italiam ... Romam inde contendit expeditissimus; cf. Dio 66.9.2). The fact that he sailed from Alexandria in a commercial vessel seems to suggest further the speed with which Titus wished to make the voyage. Instead of travelling in a style in keeping with his rank (cf. Joseph. BJ 7.21-22 for Vespasian's mode of transportation), he boarded a merchant ship which would carry him directly to the commercial ports of Rhegium and Puteoli (Rougé, REA 55 [1953]

298-300). This mode of travel might also have been viewed by Titus as an expression of humility (velut arguens rumorum de se temeritatem).

5.3 inopinantique patri: This statement seems to contradict the account of Josephus which tells of Titus' triumphal return and Vespasian's welcome and thus, by implication, suggests that his return was expected. The speed with which Titus made his voyage to Italy would, however, suggest that his return was not anticipated and Suetonius' account has been preferred (Crook, AJPhil 72 [1951] 165, n. 21).

6.1 Titus as his father's partner; his public offices

6.1 neque ex eo destitit participem atque etiam tutorem imperii agere: Suetonius cannot be taken to mean that Titus was an equal co-ruler with his father (Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 79-82; Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2711-2713; Price 32), even though some ancient sources do give this indication (Philostr. VA 6.30; Pliny Pan. 8.6). The nature of his partnership with Vespasian is most clearly revealed in the titles and offices he held during his father's reign (see Appendix 4). Titus was granted tribunicia potestas in A.D. 71 (see note 6.1: eidem collega et in tribunicia potestate) - most probably a sign that Vespasian intended Titus to succeed him and thus, comparable to Augustus' use of the tribunician power to mark his heirs. Titus held a number of consulships with his father (see note 6.1: in septem consulatibus fuit); yet the number never equalled Vespasian's consulships, even though an equal number would not have been difficult

to achieve. In addition to the imperial designations princeps iuventutis and Caesar, both of which were also conferred on Domitian (BMC II 7-8, nos. 45-46), he was given the title Imperator, but its regular inclusion between Titus Caesar and Vespasianus in his imperial formula probably denotes a position inferior to that of Vespasian (see note 5.2: ut in gratulatione imperator eum consalutaverint). Furthermore, Titus did not receive the titles Augustus, Pater Patriae and Pontifex Maximus; these were reserved for his father and were only adopted by Titus when he became sole emperor in A.D. 79 (BMC II 224-236, nos. 6-82). It seems clear that Titus held a position similar to that of Tiberius under Augustus, that is, he was Vespasian's destined heir and hence, was given some of the imperial powers in preparation for his own reign.

6.1 triumphavit cum patre: According to Josephus (BJ 7.121), the triumphal celebration for the Jewish war was held several days after Titus' return to Italy. It would, thus, seem to date to mid-June A.D. 71 (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2706; Tito 64). Although the Senate had decreed a separate triumph for both Vespasian and Titus, the imperial family decided on a joint celebration (Joseph. BJ 7.121). Parsimony, to some degree, probably dictated this choice, but since Domitian was also included in the triumphal procession (Suet. Dom. 2.1; Joseph. BJ 7.152), it seems possible that Vespasian wanted to use the occasion to parade Flavian unity.

Titus' first official salutation as imperator may have occurred at the triumph, the triumph being the occasion of other imperial salutations

in the early principate (BMC II xxvi, n. 1; Tito 90, n. 6). Vespasian was hailed imperator for the sixth time before April 5 A.D. 71 (CIL 3.1959; Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2711) and for the eighth time after July first of the same year (ILS 245). His seventh salutation, therefore, falls in the intervening period and, since Titus' first acclamation should correspond to Vespasian's seventh, it, too, would date to this period (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2711; see note 5.2: ut in gratulatione imperatorem eum consalutaverint). Furthermore, coins bearing the legend CAES AUG F DES IMP AUG F which refer to Titus as imperator designate have been dated to March-June A.D. 71 (BMC II 113, no. 528, 183, nos. 752-755; see Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 80 for comments on the legend). Hence, the occasion of Titus' and Vespasian's joint triumph seems an obvious date for the emperor's son to be saluted as imperator.

To commemorate the triumph and Titus' victory in Judaea, the Arch of Titus was erected on the Sacra Via, where it still stands today (for illustrations, see Nash, A Pictorial Dictionary of Rome I [1961] figs. 143-147). The arch dedicated to divus Titus (CIL 61945) was set up or completed after the emperor's death in A.D. 81 (for a discussion of the date of its erection, see Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2706; McFayden, CJ 11 [1915] 131-141; Roman Construction 98, 111f.; Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 84, n. 123).

6.1 censuramque gessit una: The accepted date for the censorship of Titus and Vespasian is 73/74 A.D. (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2714; Torrent, Emerita 36 [1968] 22; Bosworth, Athenaeum 51 [1973] 149). Designation

to the censorship came earlier, probably before the end of A.D. 71 (CIL 6.31294; Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2713; Tito 92, n. 22). Epigraphical evidence shows that Titus and his father became censores between March and July 73 (CIL 11.6000, 6.1238; McCrum-Woodhead, no. 93) and it has been concluded that the censorship probably began in April of that year (Antonine Monarchy 121, n. 178; Bosworth, op. cit. 49, n. 2). Pliny (HN 7.162) confirms 73 A.D. as the date; intra quadriennium in his account has been translated "four years ago" (i.e. 73 A.D., as Pliny's Natural History was published in 77) rather than "during four years" (Bosworth, op. cit. 49, n. 2 with reference). The termination of the censorship in 74 is given by Censorius (de Die Natali 18.14). These dates are supported by numismatic evidence (BMC II 16-23, nos. 86-120, 159-163, nos. 697-711). After 74 A.D. there are a number of inscriptions and coins on which Titus and Vespasian are given the title censor (Titus: CIL 2.3250, 6.6052; BMC II 101, nos. 484-486, 206, 211-215, nos. 855-872; Vespasian: CIL 6.933, 16.21, 11.2999; ILS 5831, 252). After 73/74 the use of censor seems to be honorary (Newton, Reigns of Vespasian and Titus [1901] 29, n. 2), but it has recently been suggested that after he held the joint censorship with Titus, Vespasian continued to hold the office in a personal and perpetual fashion which foreshadowed Domitian's potestas censoria perpetua (Torrent, Emerita 36 [1968] 213-229; Jones, Historia 21 [1972] 128).

Following the civil wars of 68/69 A.D., Vespasian faced the difficulty of replenishing the senatorial class, a task which may lie behind the censorship. It is perhaps significant that no person outside the

Flavian family became censor; the office was probably intended to strengthen the power of the imperial family (Suolahti, The Roman Censors [1963] 513). Vespasian also would have rewarded the loyalty of men who supported his rule and, as Suetonius speaks of purges (Vesp. 9.2), he probably removed from the Senate the disloyal. Adlections to the Senate and patrician class included men of provincial origins, like the Flavian family (Tac. Agr. 9; Capitol. Marcus 1; for further adlections to the patrician class and the Senate, see CIL 6.1548, 7.7058, 9.2456, 1834 , 14.2925; Torelli, JRS 58 [1968] 171; Eck, Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian [1970] 93-111; McDermott, CW 66 [1973] 335, 339-340).

Until recently it has been maintained that during the censorship of 73/74 A.D. a number of provincial censuses were conducted and Latin rights (ius Latii) were granted to all of Spain (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2659-2660; Bosworth, Athenaeum 51 [1973] 50 with references). Galsterer, on the other hand, has hypothesized that Vespasian's edict did not encompass the whole of Spain, and that the work of organizing the province under Roman forms of government was a continuing process which allowed for local differences (Galsterer, Untersuchungen zum römischen Stadtwesen auf der iberischen Halbinsel [1971], reviewed by Fishwick, Phoenix 27 [1973] 419). Further to this, it has been suggested that the provincial censuses and the grant to Latin rights were independent of the joint censorship of 73/74 and properly belong to 71 A.D. (Bosworth, op. cit. 51-78; McElderry, JRS 8 [1918] 79).

6.1 eidem collega et in tribunicia potestate: Vespasian conferred

tribunician power on his son in A.D. 71. Since his tribunician titles run concurrently with those of his father, Vespasian's numbers being always two in advance, the date on which tribunicia potestas was granted to Titus was probably July 1 A.D. 71, Vespasian's dies imperii (Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 15 [1938] 36). When he acceded to the throne, Titus refrained from moving his tribunician day to his own dies imperii (i.e. June 24) (Hammond, op. cit. 36). Coins which were minted after his accession, but before July 1 A.D. 79, still show the inscription TR POT VIII (BMC II 223, nos. 1-3) and thus, as emperor Titus continued to number his tribunician power from July first.

6.1 in septem consulatibus fuit: During the reign of Vespasian, Titus was consul in A.D. 70, 72, 74-77, and 79, in each case with his father (Degrassi 20-23; McCrum-Woodhead 4-6; cf. Pliny HN praef. 3 where sexiesque consul dates his work to 77 A.D.). Not only did Titus regularly hold the consulship with his father, but he was regularly designated to the office (Jones, Latomus 31 [1972] 850 wrongly states that Titus was cos. I desig. II in 72; his source for this, BMC II 137, no. 624, clearly indicates that the reference is to Domitian). Fortina comments that the usual duration of Titus' tenure as consul was four months (Tito 79); evidence is insufficient to bear out this assertion. In 70 A.D. Titus and Vespasian were still consuls on May twenty-fourth (Gordon, CPh 50 [1955] 194-195). It does appear that in A.D. 74 Titus may have stepped down from the consulship on April thirtieth (Degrassi 21; McCrum-Woodhead 5). Yet in both 77 and 79 Domitian probably replaced Titus in the consulship early in the

year, perhaps on the Ides of January (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2549, 2672; cf. for A.D. 77, Degrassi 22, who gives the dates of July seventh or August ninth). The dates for his tenure in the office for the remaining years are unknown.

For one or more of the imperial family to hold the office of consul each year was a standard policy of Vespasian and it was continued under Titus and in the early period of Domitian's reign. At least one of the Flavians held the consulship in every year except A.D. 78 and 81. In addition, it was only in 71 and 73 that his colleague in the office was not also a Flavian (Degrassi 20-24). This monopoly of the consulship was probably designed to compensate for the Flavian family's humble origins by giving it the added prestige of this republican office (Waters, Phoenix 17 [1963] 215; Antonine Monarchy 80).

6.1 quaestoris vice: These quaestors, known as quaestores candidati principis/Augusti, were regularly employed to read imperial messages in the Senate (Suet. Aug. 65.2; Tac. Ann. 16.27.2; Dio 54.25.5; H.A. Hadr. 3.1; Mommsen, Römisches Staatsrecht II [1963] 569-570; Millar, The Roman Empire and its Neighbours [1967] 75). Other emperors before Vespasian gave this duty to others rather than to these quaestors. Nero, for example, ordered the consuls to read his despatches (Suet. Ner. 15.2) and Augustus gave some of his messages to Germanicus to deliver (Dio 56.26.2).

6.1 praefecturam quoque praetori suscepit: The date on which Titus assumed the office of the praetorian prefect is not attested, but it

was most probably early in the Flavian period when Titus' tenure could ensure greater stability for the new regime. Thus, it perhaps dates to A.D. 71 when Titus received imperial titles and honors (Tito 93, n. 14; Durry, Les cohortes prétoriennes [1938] 178; see Appendix 4 for the imperial titles and honors conferred on Titus in A.D. 71). Other evidence points to an early date for this appointment. Titus probably followed in the praetorian prefecture M. Arrecinus Clemens, his brother-in-law, who was elected consul in A.D. 73 (CIL 6.2016; Degrassi 21) and thus, probably stepped down from praetorian office some time before this year, since he could not have held both the consulship and prefecture at the same time. Titus most likely continued to hold the office of praetorian prefect until his accession as he was still prefect when he acted against Aulus Caecina in 79 A.D. (Suet. Tit. 6.2).

The tenure of this office by a member of the imperial family was an innovation. Certainly the importance of the praetorian guard had been recognized since the assassination of Gaius Caligula. Nero's association with the praetorian prefect Burrus, for example, had been carefully cultivated (Morford, Phoenix 22 [1968] 69; see the guard's ready acceptance of Nero as princeps in Tac. Ann. 12.69). Moreover, Vespasian could not ignore the lesson of 68/69 A.D. and the importance it had revealed of the praetorians in securing the accession. With the establishment of a new dynasty Vespasian, no doubt, realized the advantages of having a son in such a position. With Titus as the military arm of the regime, the imperial family had the power to

check opponents and the smooth transition of power from father to son was aided (Morford, op. cit. 68; Tito 93, n. 41).

6.1 numquam ad id tempus nisi ab eq. R. administratam: Suetonius' statement is incorrect. Although the praetorian prefect was generally regarded as the highest office attainable by a member of the equestrian class (Suet. Galba 14.2) and usually held by a Roman knight, Marcus Arrecinus Clemens, Titus' brother-in-law and a Roman senator, had served as praetorian prefect. Appointed by Mucianus in A.D. 70 (Tac. Hist. 4.68), he held the office just before Titus assumed it. His tenure in the office may have been ignored by Suetonius as it was not a regular imperial appointment (Price 35) or it is possible that Suetonius' source simply overlooked the fact that Clemens had held the post, his tenure in the office being brief (Passerini, Athenaeum 18 [1940] 138). Perhaps the most plausible explanation is that Suetonius' mistake arose from the assumption that Clemens was an eques like his father (see note 4.2: patre eq. R. ...). Lucius Aelius Sejanus, praetorian prefect under the emperor Tiberius, was also a senator while praetorian prefect (Tito 94, n. 41); Sejanus, however, was from an equestrian family and was himself a Roman knight when he was appointed to the post, becoming a senator only with his consulship in A.D. 31 (Seager, Tiberius [1972] 213). The practice of having an eques as praetorian prefect continued at least until the time of Marcus Aurelius (H.A. Pert. 2.9).

6.1 summissis qui per theatra et castra quasi consensu ad poenam deposcerent: Although Titus as the head of the praetorian guard was

in charge of a variety of police duties in Rome, including the arrest of persons condemned to punishment by the emperor (Antonine Monarchy 77), Suetonius' statement implies that Titus sought backing for his actions while praetorian prefect because they were illegally imposed. Both the castra and the theaters could provide such support. The praetorian camp, located just outside the pomerium of Rome, housed the praetorian guard and some urban cohorts (Tac. Ann. 4.2; Suet. Tib. 37.1; Durry, Les cohortes prétoriennes [1938] 45). Titus, thus, had at hand a force loyal to his wishes as both the praetorian prefect and the emperor's son. In addition, one cohort of the praetorian guard was stationed at the gates of the theaters during performances, which themselves were often occasions for the public to make political demands (Tac. Ann. 6.13; Hist. 1.32, 1.72; Roman Life and Manners II 117). These troops could be utilized by Titus for "persuading" the crowd in the theaters to support his actions. It would appear that Titus' performance as praetorian prefect (egitque aliquanto incivilius et violentius) at the very least contributed to his unpopularity with the people.

6.2 Titus orders the death of Aulus Caecina; popular hatred of Titus before his accession

6.2 in his: Townend (CQ 53 [1959] 291) cites this passage as an example of Suetonian exaggeration as it seems that Eprius Marcellus was the only other person implicated in the conspiracy of 79 (cf. Dio 65.16.3). Townend, however, is in error as Suetonius' remarks are not restricted to this particular conspiracy (siquidem suspectissimum

quemque ...). It is also known from Suetonius that there were several conspiracies during the reign of Vespasian (Vesp. 25).

6.2 Aulum Caecinam consularem: Aulus Caecina Alienus, legate in Upper Germany under Galba and Vitellius, was consul suffectus in A.D. 69 with Fabius Valens (PIR^2 C99). The date on which he assumed the office is uncertain, but it seems to have been prior to Vitellius' birthday, which fell either on September seventh or twenty-fourth (Suet. Vitell. 3.2), when Caecina and Valens held gladiatorial celebrations for the new emperor - probably as consuls (Tac. Hist. 2.95; PIR^2 C99). Caecina held the consulship for a short period, being removed from the office before October 3 A.D. 69 (Tac. Hist. 3.37).

In 68/69 A.D. Caecina had assisted various contenders to the throne. An early supporter of Galba, he joined the forces of Vitellius in late 68 or early 69 when Galba discovered that he had misappropriated public funds and threatened to prosecute him (Tac. Hist. 1.53; PIR^2 C99). He later betrayed Vitellius when he was sent to check the Flavian forces (Tac. Hist. 2.99f., 3.13f.); after the Battle of Cremona he was well-received by Vespasian (Joseph. BJ 4.644). That his activities add up to the dossier of a revolutionary may be doubted. It is true that during the civil wars Caecina had abandoned forces when their power was on the wane, but why would he now have chosen to rebel against Vespasian whose regime after ten years was well-established (Crook, AJPhil 72 [1951] 169)? It is known that he was one of Vespasian's closest friends and any motivation for his conspiracy is curiously missing from the ancient sources (cf. Dio

66.16.3).

6.2 sane urgente discrimine: The account given in Dio corroborates Suetonius' version, i.e. that Caecina was murdered because of revolutionary designs against the emperor (Dio 66.16.3). The Epitome relates a very different story. In a passage which is obviously a paraphrase of Suetonius (in quis Caecinam consularem adhibitum coenae vixdum triclinio egressum), the author comments that Titus ordered Caecina executed ob suspicionem stupratae Berenicis uxoris suae (Epit. de Caes. 10.14). This allegation is generally regarded as incredible (Crook, AJPhil 72 [1951] 167; Tito 94, n. 51), since it fails to explain either the involvement of Eprius Marcellus in the affair or his subsequent prosecution and death. The story may, however, point to a connection between Berenice and the conspiracy (Crook, op. cit. 168-169). One hypothesis is that the true victim of Titus' actions was Marcellus whom Titus wished to have eliminated because he had succeeded Gaius Licinius Mucianus, now dead, as the chief opponent of Berenice (Crook, op. cit. 169-171). The theory does not, however, satisfactorily account for Titus' murder of Caecina. Indeed, details in the sources are so scanty that little positive can be said about this conspiracy, if, in fact, one ever existed.

6.2 cum etiam chirographum eius praeparatae apud milites contionis deprehendisset: Titus' talents for forgery, a skill about which he was known to boast (Suet. Tit. 3.2), put the conspiracy of 79 further in question. Titus could well have produced false evidence on which to charge Caecina of conspiratorial aims.

One characteristic of Caecina which makes conspiracy plausible was his popularity with the troops (Price 37; cf. Tac. Hist. 1.53, 3.13). Yet his efforts to persuade the soldiery to abandon Vitellius before the Battle of Cremona had ultimately proved unsuccessful (Tac. Hist. 3.13f.); whether he would have employed the same method in 79 A.D. may be doubted.

6.2 ut non temere quis tam adverso rumore magisque invitis omnibus transierit ad principatum: The statement brings to mind the emperor Hadrian and the unpopularity of his first years of rule following the execution of four consulars (Townend, CQ 53 [1959] 291-292; Crook, AJPhil 72 [1951] 171). Townend believes that the use of non temere quis instead of simply nemo shows a clear intent on the part of Suetonius to make this statement read as an allusion to Hadrian (op. cit. 291-292).

7.1 Examples of Titus' unchaste behavior and his avarice; his unpopularity with the populace and change for the better

7.1 propterque insignem reginae Berenices amorem: Titus' love affair with Berenice certainly developed before late 68 A.D. (Tac. Hist. 2.2); it may even have begun as early as 67 when Vespasian and his son first arrived in the East (Crook, AJPhil 72 [1951] 163; Tito 95, n. 72; Miraeux, La Reine Bérénice [1951] 148). By this time Agrippa II and his sister had determined that they would remain loyal to Rome after unsuccessful attempts to dissuade their subjects from rebellion (Joseph. BJ 2.342f., 3.29). Their role in the events of 69 seems,

however, to have been more than that of obsequious client-rulers; for the Herods appear to have had an active hand in Vespasian's bid for the imperial throne (Crook, op. cit. 163). Tacitus hints that Berenice's support was financial (Hist. 2.81) and, in lieu of Agrippa, who was in Rome at the time, she may also have served as a middleman between Vespasian and Tiberius Julius Alexander, her brother-in-law by a previous marriage (Sullivan, CJ 49 [1953] 69-70). Once the Flavian regime had been established at Rome, Agrippa and Berenice could justly have expected their rewards of victory. It is perhaps significant then that Agrippa was granted the rank of praetor on his visit to Rome with his sister, and there seems little reason to doubt the statement in the ancient sources that Berenice eventually desired to be empress of Rome (Suet. Tit. 7.1; Dio 66.15.4; Epit. de Caes. 10.7).

The arrival of the Herods in Rome has been assigned to A.D. 75 as it is affixed to events of that year in Dio's account (66.15.1f.; Crook, op. cit. 166; Mireaux, op. cit. 187). If their visit to Rome had been delayed for some reason, it may have been the death of Mucianus which enabled them to come to the capital (Crook, op. cit. 166, where he attempts to date Mucianus' death to 75 A.D.); this, of course, would presuppose Mucianus' hostility to the pair (Crook, op. cit. 162-166). Be this as it may, there are indications that opposition to Berenice existed after her installation in the Flavian palace. In addition to Suetonius' comments, Dio mentions a general whispering campaign against Titus and Berenice and the punishment of Diogenes and Heras who were inveighing against the two (66.15.5). The murder

of Caecina might also have some connection with Berenice (see note 6.2: sane urgente discrimine) as well as the apparently widespread penalties which Titus dispensed while praetorian prefect (Suet. Tit. 6.1; Crook, op. cit. 170). If opposition to Berenice was as strong as these incidents seem to suggest, the reason for it was probably more than the emperor's son's love for a Jewish queen. From a statement of Quintilian (Inst. 4.1.19) it appears that Berenice may have wielded more political influence in Rome than men supporting the Flavian rule considered safe, in which case they may have whipped up public sentiment against Berenice on moral grounds, thereby bringing about her dismissal (Crook, op. cit. 169-170).

7.1 cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur: The ancient sources use a variety of expressions to describe Titus' relationship with Berenice. According to Dio (66.15.4), she was Titus' mistress, although she conducted herself in the manner of a wife and expected Titus to marry her. In the Epitome de Caesaribus (10.4) she is once termed uxor, but her hopes of marriage to Titus are also reported (10.7). In Mireaux's opinion, the different statements do not contain any contradictions, since Berenice was, in effect, Titus' wife by virtue of their living arrangement. What she desired was the official sanction of her rank (Mireaux, La Reine Berenice [1951] 188-189).

It is improbable that any promised nuptials were the ultimate cause of Berenice's dismissal from Rome, although her enemies probably used the threat in their propaganda against her. If the Roman populace could have tolerated her presence in the city, she might have been

content to stay in Rome on those terms. It, therefore, seems more likely that her residence in the Flavian palace and her influence on the political scene and with Titus was what led to her banishment (see note 7.1: propterque insignem Berenices amorem).

7.1 in co[g]n[i]tionibus patris: Cognitionibus is an emendation for contionibus adopted by Torrentius. Dio's account (66.10.5) confirms that Vespasian continued the practice followed by earlier emperors of holding these judicial examinations in the forum (Consilium Principis 107).

7.1 denique propalam alium Neronem et opinabantur et praedicabant: This charge perhaps arose not only from characteristics of Titus which the populace believed typical of Nero, but also from Titus' early association with the Claudian court and his possible presence there when Nero gained influence with the emperor (see note 2.1: Titus ... gustasse credatur gravique morbo adflictatus diu). The fact that such an opinion of Titus was formulated amid Vespasian's efforts to blacken the memory of Nero tends to show its seriousness (Gagé, REA 54 [1952] 292).

7.1 conversaque est in maximas laudes: From an earlier passage it appears that Titus' "conversion" began with his accession to the throne (Suet. Tit. 1.1; cf. Tac. Hist. 1.50 for Vespasian's "conversion"). The sudden change for the better presented by Suetonius is puzzling, especially when it follows the presentation of a man who exhibited saevitia, libido and rapacitas and as such seems to

have mystified ancient and modern writers alike. The author of the Epitome de Caesaribus, for instance, finding no motivation in Suetonius for the change in Titus, ascribes it to Berenice's withdrawal from Rome (10.7-8: Berenicen ... regredi domum ... quo facto quasi signum praetulit mutatae intemperantiae). The impact of the "conversion" presented by Suetonius is, no doubt, accentuated by the author's literary method in which examples of Titus' cruel or lustful behavior before his accession are carefully balanced against acts early in his reign displaying his good qualities (Luck, Rh. Mus. 107 [1964] 67-68). This, however, does not explain the actual change. Tacitus attributes his earlier behavior to the self-indulgence of youth (Hist. 2.2), but as Titus was in his fortieth year before he assumed the imperial mantle, his explanation seems gratuitous. More probably Titus came to realize that the Roman people would not stand for savage or excessive behavior in their emperor, especially from a member of an imperial family whose claim to the throne was relatively recent. Perhaps popular reaction to his sudden despatch of Caecina brought this home to him. Whether Titus was showing his genuine self as princeps cannot be stated conclusively. The tradition of Titus as amor ac deliciae generis humani is almost universal in ancient works (for a discussion of the favorable opinion of Titus contained in ancient sources, see Gilliam, AJPhil 88 [1967] 204-205), but there may well be some truth in Dio's comment that Titus would not have been so popular had he ruled longer (66.18.4).

7.2 Titus' good qualities; his amici; the dismissal of Berenice

7.2 amicos elegit: It has been suggested that Suetonius' use of elegit does not reflect the true state of affairs because Titus, during his short reign, probably continued to employ amici of his father (Consilium Principis 49, n. 10). While the names M. Arrecinus Clemens, A. Didius Gallus Fabricus Veiento and L. Julius Vestinus, the last of whom was perhaps a member of Titus' consilium (Roberts, JRS 39 [1949] 79-80), can be cited as examples of Vespasian's amici who remained in the service of the emperor under Titus, can it be assumed that this was generally the case? In a recent article, Jones has shown that there were a considerable number of men who, though prominent amici of Vespasian, apparently received no honors or promotions while Titus was emperor (Historia 24 [1975] 456-458). Even though the brevity of Titus' reign can excuse the neglect of some of these men, Domitian managed to award four of them with consulships in a period of time approximately two months shorter than his brother's reign, this despite the Flavian propensity to monopolize the office (see note 6.1: in septem consulatibus fuit; Jones, op. cit. 459). There were, in addition, several individuals who were not technically amici, but who were granted senior appointments by Titus and may, thus, indicate the sort of men with whom Titus chose to buttress his regime (Jones, op. cit. 459-461). What emerges from the prosopographical evidence presented by Jones is the suggestion that after the elimination of the prominent amici of Vespasian, Eprius Marcellus and Aulus Caecina, Titus took a somewhat independent attitude towards the selection of his own amici, a turn of events which would justify Suetonius' elegit (Jones, op. cit. 461-462; cf. Crook, AJPhil 72 [1951] 171-172). Since such a policy appears to differ from his

father's and brother's tendency to award honors to family members or traditional Flavian supporters, it may have been designed by Titus to broaden his base of support (Jones, op. cit. 456, 461-462). But, no doubt, there were also amici of Vespasian who continued in this capacity under his successor because Titus could not afford to overlook them in view of their position or experience in the imperial establishment.

7.2 quibus etiam post eum principes ut et sibi et rei p. necessariis adquieverunt: This statement appears to conflict with Dio's statement that Domitian brought disgrace and ruin upon the amici of his father and brother (67.2.1), but Dio should probably be taken to refer specifically to such men as T. Flavius Sabinus, M. Arrecinus Clemens and M.' Acilius Galbrio whom Domitian had executed - not to a widespread phenomenon (Jones, Historia 24 [1975] 455; Consilium Principis 148, no. 3, 151, no. 31, 165, no. 151; for the length of time that Clemens survived in the reign of Domitian, see Passerini, Athenaeum 18 [1940] 159-163; Townend, JRS 51 [1961] 57, n. 9, states that Clemens was possibly exiled rather than killed). Some of Vespasian's amici later appear as members of Domitian's rhombus council (Consilium Principis 49, no. 10, 148, no. 2, 164, no. 148, 177, no. 251, 188, no. 340); others who had apparently been overlooked by Titus were promoted by Domitian (Jones, op. cit. 456-459; see note 7.2: amicos elegit). Again, some who retired from Rome during Domitian's reign turn up among the amici of later emperors (Consilium Principis 151, no. 32), while others are attested as amici of the Flavian emperors as well as of Trajan (Consilium Principis 49, n. 10, 163,

no. 135a, 168, nos. 174, 176).

7.2 Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit invitus invitam: Suetonius' account implies that Berenice was present in Rome from a period during the reign of Vespasian until after Titus acceded to the throne (cf. Tit. 7.1). while Dio seems to record two separate dismissals. According to the latter, Berenice arrived in Rome ca. 75 A.D. (66.15.1f.) and after cohabiting with Titus was dismissed because of Roman displeasure (66.15.4). The dismissal appears to be contemporaneous with the affair of Diogenes and Heras, the execution of Julius Sabinus and his wife and the conspiracy of Caecina and hence, would date it to 79 A.D. (Dio 66.15.5f.; Tac. Hist. 4.67; Crook, AJPhil 72 [1951] 167). After Titus' succession, Berenice is again mentioned as being present in Rome (Dio 66.18.1) and, although a second dismissal is not specified, it can be assumed (Crook, op. cit. 167). Dio's account should probably be preferred to that of Suetonius since, if the vita is analysed at the literary level, the second section of this passage appears to be a systematic refutation of the opening section of the chapter, Suetonius countering each example of saevitia, libido and rapacitas with an illustration of Titus' good qualities (Luck, Rh. Mus. 107 [1964] 67-68; Crook, op. cit. 167; Mireaux, La Reine Berenice [1951] 192-193, asserts that Dio is following a lost portion of Tacitus' Histories). In this case, his notorious passion for Berenice is balanced with her banishment from Rome and his life. It is entirely possible, therefore, that Suetonius would have compressed two dismissals into one in order to achieve the desired effect. Furthermore, a dismissal prior to Titus' accession is quite conceivable,

given the information in both sources. Opposition to Berenice before Vespasian died is amply attested (Dio 66.15.4; Suet. Tit. 7.1) and this may have been sufficient to cause her withdrawal from Rome (Crook, op. cit. 171). When Titus became emperor, she again returned to Rome, only to find her presence would still not be tolerated. Whether or not this dismissal constituted a final severing of the relationship cannot be said (Crook, op. cit. 172).

7.3 Titus' refusal to accept the money or property of his subjects; the dedication of the Flavian amphitheater and the baths of Titus

7.3 nulli civium quicquam admit: The emperor Nero had been notorious for his confiscations which increased in A.D. 64 because of financial need engendered by the great fire and Nero' extravagances and continued unabated until his death (Tac. Ann. 16.3f.; Suet. Ner. 32; Dio 63.11.27; Garzetti, From Tiberius to the Antonines [1974] 168). Vespasian once princeps abandoned Nero's measures and there are no recorded incidents of violence or confiscation by him (Garzetti, op. cit. 243). Vespasian also gave part of the large parcel of land at the center of Rome, usurped by Nero for his domus aurea (Tac. Ann. 15.42f.; Suet. Ner. 31), for public use through the erection of several buildings including the Flavian amphitheater (Mart. de Spect. 2; Charlesworth, JRS 27 [1937] 55; Morford, Eranos 66 [1968] 165-166). It would appear from Suetonius' statement that Titus continued his father's policies.

7.3 ac ne concessas quidem ac solitas conlationes recepit: Conlationes had been collected by earlier emperors - either compulsorily or on a voluntary basis (Suet. Aug. 57.2; Ner. 38.3, 44.2) - and generally seem to have been given for building projects (cf. Suet. Gaius 42); thus, they were collected to enable Augustus to rebuild his palace on the Palatine after a fire (Suet. Aug. 57.2) and were demanded by Nero after the fire of A.D. 64 (Suet. Ner. 38.3). Another money-gift to the emperors was the presentation of a sterna or "luck penny" on the first day of each year (Suet. Aug. 57.1; Gaius 42), a practice which was banned under Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 34.2).

7.3 amphitheatro dedicato: The Flavian amphitheater, built on the site of the artificial lake of Nero's domus aurea, was begun by Vespasian, dedicated under Titus and completed under Domitian. What exactly was the contribution of each emperor remains controversial. According to an ancient chronographer, Vespasian built the first three stories, Titus added two, and Domitian completed the building usque ad clypea (Roman Construction 91, n. 148 with reference). A passage in the Acta Fratrum Arvalium from 80 A.D. records three levels of seats (AFA 107), while a coin from Titus' reign depicting the amphitheater shows a four-storied structure - three tiers illustrating the three different orders and a fourth story with engaged columns and windows and panels (BMC II 262, nos. 190-191; cf. BMC II xxiii where they are cited as forgeries). Varying interpretations have been applied to this evidence, but it is generally believed that Vespasian completed the first two stories and probably the exterior structure of the third (Roman Construction 92-93; Platner-Ashby 6;

Lugli, Roman Antica [1968] 324). If Vespasian's work included the exterior of the third story, then Titus was probably responsible for the interior and the upper tier of wooden seats (moenianum summum in ligneis (Roman Construction 98). Titus may also have completed the fourth tier (Platner-Ashby 6), though this could have been the work of Domitian (Roman Construction 91, 99).

The inaugural date of the Flavian amphitheater is not attested in the sources. Numismatic evidence gives a date somewhere in the years 80/81 A.D. (BMC II 262, nos. 190-191, 269, nos. 221-223, where Fortina, Tito 136, n. 93, believes that the elephants depicted are probably an allusion to those mentioned by Dio [66.25.1] which were part of the dedicatory celebrations), but it is known from the Acta Fratrum Arvalium of 80 A.D. that seats were alloted in the amphitheater during the consulship of L. Aelius Plautius Lamia and Q. Pactumeis Fronto (AFA 106). What is known of the career of Lamia would seem to date the dedication of the building between the eleventh of February and the thirteenth of June of 80 A.D. (AE 1948, no. 56; Degrassi, PP 2 [1947] 351; Tito 136, n. 93). Lugli places the inauguration in June (Roma Antica [1968] 322) and as the spectacles and festivals lasted for a hundred days (Dio 66.25.1), the celebrations will have continued for most of the summer of 80 A.D..

7.3 thermisque iuxta: The baths of Titus were located on the Oppian Hill in the precinct of Nero's Golden House (for a description, see Platner-Ashby 533-534; for illustrations, see Nash, A Pictorial Dictionary of Rome II [1961] figs. 1279-1282). The Flavian amphitheater

lay to the south of the baths, the two structures being separated by a flight of stairs and a porticus. The porticus may have served either as an entrance for the baths or a surrounding for the amphitheater (Platner-Ashby 534), but it is possibly a later addition by the emperor Hadrian (Roman Construction 96, 98, n. 17). It had previously been thought that the baths of Titus might have been restored and enlarged by Trajan, but the drawings of Palladio and later excavations which uncovered a few remains of the thermae Titi show that the two baths were separate structures. The thermae Traianae have now been correctly located west of the baths of Titus (Lanciani, The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome [1897] 363-364).

7.3 cele[b]riter extructis: Martial (de Spect. 2.7) also speaks of these baths as velocia munera. Since work on them probably did not begin until after Titus' accession in 79 and they were dedicated with the amphitheater in 80, the short intervening period of time may indicate the haste with which they must have been built. An ancient chronographer lists the thermae Titi among the public works of Domitian, thus suggesting that the baths may have been completed under his reign (Roman Construction 98-99).

7.3 dedit et navale proelium: According to Dio (66.25.4), this display involved 30,000 combatants and took place on the third day of the celebrations. From his description the mock-battle seems to have been a re-enactment of an episode from the Athenian expedition to Sicily. Presentations based on historical incidents seem to have been a common occurrence (Grant, Gladiators [1967] 89).

7.3 in veteri naumachia: The reference is to the naumachia Augusti, an artificial basin constructed by the emperor Augustus in 2 B.C. (Platner-Ashby 357). It was located on the right bank of the Tiber River near S. Cosimato and surrounded by the nemus Caesarum, a grove in honor of Gaius and Lucius Caesar (Suet. Aug. 43.1; Dio 66.25.3; CIL 6.31566; Ashby, The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome [1935] 188-189). The naumachia measured 536 meters in length and 357 in width (Platner-Ashby 357) and was fed by the aqua Alsietina, also built by Augustus chiefly for this purpose (Platner-Ashby 20, 357; Roman Construction 342; Ashby, op. cit. 183-184 for discussion of Frontinus' account). The later naumachia Philippi may have been simply a restoration of the Augustan basin (Platner-Ashby 357-358).

8.1 Titus' kindly nature; his edict which confirmed benefits given by other emperors; his liberal granting of requests

8.1 ex instituto Tiberi omnes dehinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa principibus aliter [rata] non haberent: Beneficia denotes the rights and privileges given by an emperor to communities, classes and individual persons (RE 3 [1897] 272-273; de Ruggiero, Dizionario epigrafico di antichita Romano I [1961] 996). According to Suetonius, all such beneficia had to be individually renewed by each succeeding emperor to remain valid. While Suetonius' information is probably historically correct for the period prior to Titus' reign, there is evidence which shows some beneficia remaining in force without such confirmation (Antonine Monarchy 339-345). In general, however, the practice before Titus was probably as Suetonius suggests.

8.1 primus praeterita omnia uno confirmavit edicto: The passage of such an edict by Titus is confirmed by Dio (66.19.3). Both Domitian and Nerva issued similar proclamations to the same effect (Dio 67.2.1; Pliny Ep. 10.58) and thus, it may be that it became common practice after Titus to confirm beneficia in one edict (Antonine Monarchy 342-345).

8.2 Titus shows indulgence to the populace

8.2 armaturae Thraecum: The weapons of a Thracian gladiator consisted of a small shield, known as a parma, which could be either round or square, and a sica, a short sword which was shaped in a curve or more often bent at an angle. Because of their small shield, they wore more elaborate armor, comprising greaves, a visor and a sleeve on their right arm. While the above description is typical of Thracian fighters, there were doubtless modifications in existence (Roman Life and Manners IV 175f.; Grant, Gladiators [1967] 59).

8.2 saepe cum populo et voce et gestu ... cavillatus est: This jesting probably took the form of simulated wrangling and abuse of those persons who did not support the Thracian gladiators (Suetonius II 332, n. a, Loeb; Grant, Gladiators [1967] 63).

8.2 ut fautor: Factions which supported either individual gladiators or the different groups of combatants are known to have been present at these games, although not to the same extent as at the Circus (Roman Life and Manners II 61). Even the emperors were not above

partisanship, Caligula as well as Titus favoring the Thracians (Suet. Gaius 54.1, 55.2), while Domitian patronized the murmillones (Suet. Dom. 10.1). Pliny praises Trajan on his impartiality at the spectacles in contrast to Domitian (Paneg. 33.3).

8.2 verum maiestate salva: Suetonius is less complimentary about Claudius' behavior at gladiatorial games and Vespasian's earthy humor (Claud. 21.5; Vesp. 22).

8.2 in thermis suis: The reference is to the thermae Titi which Titus built in the early part of his reign (see note 7.3: thermisque iuxta).

8.2 admissa plebe lavit: This example of regard for the masses at Rome was followed by the later emperors, Hadrian and Alexander Severus (H.A. Hadr.; Alex. Sev. 42.1).

8.3 Natural disasters during the reign of Titus; the eruption of Vesuvius, the fire at Rome and the plague

8.3 conflagratio Vesuvii montis in Campania: The best ancient source on the eruption of Vesuvius is the letters which the younger Pliny wrote to the historian Tacitus; in these he gives an account of the event which is of particular historical value because he happened to be an eye-witness (Epp. 6.16, 6.20). According to Pliny, the eruption began on August 24 A.D. 79 (Ep. 6.16). Later manuscripts of his work which give the date of November twenty-third are most probably in

error as the evidence from crops in the area seems to preclude this late a date and August twenty-fourth is generally accepted (Grant, Cities of Vesuvius [1974] 223, n. 6; cf. Dio who places the event in the autumn of 79; Herrlich, Klio 4 [1904] 213 with reference). The duration of the actual eruption is unknown, but some indication of how long the ash continued to fall can be gathered from Pliny's statement that at Misenum, located across the Bay of Naples from Vesuvius, it ceased two days after the eruption, that is on August twenty-sixth (Pliny Ep. 6.20). It has, therefore, been suggested that in the immediate vicinity of the volcano it must have continued longer (Herrslich, op. cit. 213). Precise dating is difficult because the ash fall was accompanied by a prevailing darkness which would have caused confusion between day and night during the conflagration, and for this reason, it could be that the dates given in the above account are too late (Wolters, Klio 5 [1905] 333f.)

The cities of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae were buried in the eruption of Vesuvius (Dio 66.23.3 without reference to Stabiae; Grant, op. cit. 38). The eruption and accompanying earthquakes caused destruction throughout Campania, inscriptions attesting restoration operations as far north as Naples and south to Sorrento (CIL 10.1481; Tito 132, n. 68 with reference). The number of deaths caused by the conflagration has been estimated at ca. 12,000-15,000 (Radke, RE 8A [1958] 2436 with reference).

8.3 incendium Romae per triduum totidemque noctes: Dio's account lists the buildings in Rome which were destroyed by this fire (66.24.2);

the damage extended from the Pantheon, which lay on the southern half of the Campus Martius, south to the temples on the Capitoline. The fire took place in A.D. 80, but exactly when is unknown, except that it occurred when Titus was absent from Rome, overseeing the restoration of Campania (Dio 66.24.1).

The great majority of these buildings were most likely restored during the reign of Domitian to whom is specifically attributed the rebuilding of the temple of Isis and the Pantheon (Roman Construction 100; Platner-Ashby 151, 284, 385, 427, 460, 513, 518; Eutrop. 7.23.5; Euseb.-Hier. Chron. ad Abr. 2110 [Isis], 2105 [Pantheon]). The scaena of the theater of Pompey may have been rebuilt under Titus (Roman Construction 99, n. 28) and work was probably begun on the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline (AFA 106), although most of its restoration properly belongs to Domitian who dedicated the temple in 82 A.D. (Roman Construction 101; Platner-Ashby 300; BMC II 351, no. 251). Because of his death in the year following the fire and his preoccupation with assistance to Campania, Titus probably was not responsible for any extensive building projects in Rome (Roman Construction 99); hence, the extent to which the fire at Rome taxed the fiscus during Titus' reign was probably not great (cf. Syme, JRS 20 [1930] 55, 69f.; Sutherland, JRS 25 [1935] 158f.).

8.3 item pestilentia quanta non temere alias: Pestilences occurred at Rome regularly in both republican and imperial times (Roman Life and Manners I 27). During the Augustan principate a plague raged in the capital and throughout Italy in the years 23/22 B.C.. Again in

65 A.D. a pestilence ravaged the city, the numbers of those who died during the autumn of that year being recorded at the temple of Libitina as 30,000 (Suet. Ner. 39.1; Tac. Ann. 16.13: in qua omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depopulabatur), a figure thought to represent merely a fraction of the total dead (Roman Life and Manners I 28). To what extent the numbers of dead from the pestilence during the reign of Titus surpassed those of the earlier on in 65 can only be guessed. A later source recorded that on many days 10,000 deaths were registered on the daily lists (Euseb.-Hier. Chron. ad Abr. 2093) and although this source ascribes the plague to A.D. 77 and the reign of Vespasian, it could well be a reference to this pestilence, since one during Vespasian's rule is not elsewhere attested (Roman Life and Manners IV 340, n. 28.9). If so, the figures would then justify Suetonius' comment, quanta non temere alias.

Various details in the accounts of both Dio and Suetonius make the date of the pestilence a matter of controversy. One view is that the sequence of events (conflagratio, incendium, pestilentia) given by Suetonius precludes a date before A.D. 80 (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2719); others argue for 79 on the basis of Dio's remark that the ashes from the eruption of Vesuvius filled the air around Rome and were later responsible for the plague (Dio 66.23.4f.; Roman Life and Manners IV 340, n. 28.9; Tito 132, n. 72). Arguments which base chronology upon Suetonius when he is using an arrangment per species appear tenuous; still, Dio's use of ὕστερον renders his account too indefinite to rule out a date in A.D. 80.

8.4 Titus appoints commissioners to oversee the restoration of Campania; in Rome men of the equestrian class are selected to carry out the rebuilding from the fire; Titus' attempts to alleviate the effects of the plague

8.4 curatores restituendae Campaniae e consularium numero sorte duxit: Under the empire curatores were regularly appointed to perform a wide range of duties (for lists of the different types of curatores, see RE 8 [1901] 1779-1811; de Ruggiero, Dizionario epigrafico di antichita Romana II^2 [1961] 1326-1342). They were not always chosen by lot as in this case (Tac. Hist. 4.40; Dio 55.25.2), since they could also be designated either by the emperor (Tac. Ann. 15.18) or by the Senate (Pliny, Ep. 2.1.9; Tac. Hist. 4.47) or by cooperation between the two (Jolowicz and Nicholas, Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law [1972] 333, n. 2), nor were they always of consular rank. But the choice of such men is probably indicative of the importance which Titus attached to the task. Two such curatores were selected to supervise operations in Campania (Dio 66.24.3), one of them possibly the proconsul L. Naeratius Priscus, who is known from an inscription to have been in Capua in A.D. 80 (Tito 131f., n. 67).

An inscription from Naples commemorates restorations by Titus, though the names of the buildings are not preserved (CIL 10.1481). At Sorrento a horologium was restored (Tito 132, n. 68 with reference). Otherwise, the information we have of the rebuilding in the area is of a general nature. According to Dio (66.24.3), money was granted to victims of the devastation, but Suetonius seems to imply some

restraint on the part of Titus in extending financial support to the regions of Campania (Tit. 8.3: nunc opitulando quatenus suppeteret facultas). Furthermore, the cities which had been buried by the eruption were left virtually untouched, an undoubted saving to the imperial purse (Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of Rome [1926] 183; Grant, Cities of Vesuvius [1974] 39; Millar, The Roman Empire and its Neighbours [1967] 136).

8.4 bona oppressorum in Vesuvio quorum heredes non extabant restitutioni afflictarum attribuit: Such estates, known as bona vacantia, normally became the property of the state, although in special cases they might be given to a municipium (Price 57; Schulz, Classical Roman Law [1951] 237). While Augustus was emperor, the land came under the jurisdiction of the aerarium populi Romani, but under Tiberius it was transferred to the fiscus (Tac. Ann. 2.48; Schulz, op. cit. 237). According to Dio (66.24.3), the land was given to those victims rendered homeless during the eruption, and although Suetonius is more obscure, the implication is the same. Titus probably applied many of his own funds to restoration projects from the various disasters during his reign (Tit. 8.4), but he made shrewd use of other assistance which was available.

8.4 cuncta praetoriorum suorum ornamenta operibus ac templis destinavit: Praetorium, which originally meant a general's tent, came to be used in post-Augustan times to designate country villas (Forcellini, Lexicon Totius Latinitatis III [1965] 845). Again, Titus' actions point to his attempts to curb the vast costs of restoration.

8.4 praeposuitque compluris ex equestri ordine quo quaeque maturius peragerentur: The extent of the rebuilding carried out by this group of men is unknown, but it is not thought to have been large (see note 8.3: incendium Romae per triduum totidemque noctes). It would appear from the involvement of both the senatorial and equestrian classes in restoration projects in Campania and Rome that Titus was attempting to ensure that both orders participated to an equal extent. If the appointment of consular curatores for Campania was a concession to the Senate, as has been suggested (Mooney, De vita Caesarum: Libri VII-VIII [1930] 494 with reference), then the selection of equites to take charge of this task was probably meant to mollify the equestrian class.

8.5 Titus' efforts to curb the abuses of the informers in Rome

8.5 delatores amendatoresque erant ex licentia veteri: Ihm (Suetonius I [1958] 314) keeps the reading of the codex Memmianus (M), the most trustworthy manuscript, but since amendator is not elsewhere attested in Latin literature, mandatores is usually the accepted reading for amendatores (Suetonius II 334, Loeb; Mooney, De vita Caesarum: Libri VII-VIII [1930] 496).

In Roman legal procedure the delator was an accuser who brought forward a criminal charge against an individual; he was responsible for the charge and would be penalized if he failed to win the case (Crook, Law and Life of Rome [1967] 276f.). If, however, he secured the condemnation of the accused, he received a portion of the man's estate.

(Tac. Ann. 4.30). Thus, it was for financial gain that many became delatores and with the increasing number of maiestas-trials under the early principate these men quickly developed into a professional class in Rome. The mandator, on the other hand, simply provided the accuser with information, for which he was presumably rewarded.

8.5 traductos per amphitheatri harenam: Both punishments and executions were commonly handled in the amphitheater (Suet. Tib. 75.3; Gaius 27.4; Roman Life and Manners IV 190). Martial gives an account of this parade of delatores ordered by Titus (de Spect. 4) and it has been suggested that the exhibition took place early in the morning before spectacles, as in the case of executions (Mooney, De vita Caesarum: Libri VII-VIII [1930] 496 with reference). Trajan continued the practice of displaying these men in the amphitheater before banishing them (Pliny Paneg. 34.1.5).

8.5 imperavit: According to Pliny the Younger (Paneg. 35.4), Titus' action against the informers in Rome took the form of an imperial edict. Nerva made additions to the edict as did Trajan, whose amendments were apparently extensive (Pliny Paneg. 35.4).

8.5 in asperrimas insularum avehi: According to Dio (66.19.3), Titus merely banished the informers from Rome, but the reference to asperrimae insulae would seem to imply definite islands (Price 61). Seneca mentions Sciathus, Seriphum, Corsica, and Gyarus under this terminology (ad Helv. 6.4). Other islands were used for exile (Suet. Aug. 19.2, 65.4; Tib. 53.2), but as these examples involve members of the

imperial family, that is Julia and Agrippa Postumus, the severity of the place of exile was probably modified. Exile, as a punishment, generally took two forms, relegatio and deportatio, and in the main, relegatio was a milder form of punishment which involved expulsion from Rome, while deportatio meant a loss of citizenship, exile to a remote place and commonly a loss of property (Crook, Law and Life of Rome [1967] 272f.; Jolowicz and Nicholas, Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law [1972] 403). As these punishments were usually imposed on members of higher classes, the nature of the penalty is an indication of the status of delatores in Rome.

8.5 vetuit inter cetera de eadem re pluribus legibus agi: This measure was designed to prevent an informer, after failing to win a case on a criminal charge, from bringing the same charge against the individual under a different law. Titus' enactment was in accordance with the general principle of Roman civil law which forbade the renewal, except in the case of appeal, of a charge which had already been tried under one law (Dig. 44.2.7.4, 44.2.5; Mooney, De vita Caesarum: Libri VII-VIII [1930] 497).

8.5 quaerive de cuiusquam defunctorum statu ultra certos annos; Titus intended with this act to prevent inquiries by informers into the status (ingenuus, libertus, servus) of deceased persons for the purpose of bringing forward charges that a deceased person had no right to freeborn status, charges which, if proven valid in court, would cause the man's will to be declared invalid. According to the Digest (40.15.4), Nerva was the first to pass such an edict. Thus,

Titus perhaps did not pass such a law and the confusion arose from other similarities between his legislation and that of Nerva, such as their measures against informers (Price 61). If such an act was decreed under Titus, the stipulated number of years is unknown, but it is possible that the five-year period stated in Nerva's edict had its precedent in a similar law of Titus.

9.1 Titus becomes pontifex maximus; his oath to kill no man while in the office; two men of the patrician class conspire against the emperor

9.1 pontificatum maximum ideo se professus accipere: Like his father, who was elected as pontifex maximus in November A.D. 70, Titus probably did not assume the office immediately on his accession. Coins from the period suggest that his investiture occurred sometime after July 1 A.D. 79 (BMC II 224-229, nos. 4-35; cf. BMC II 223, no. 1-3). A diploma of September 8 A.D. 79 includes pontifex maximus in Titus' imperial formula and thus, the assumption of the office would seem to date to the period between July and early September 79.

9.1 ut puras servaret manus: The office of pontifex maximus, which had been undertaken by all the previous Roman emperors, did not require such an oath nor had such a practice been adopted by earlier rulers (Price 63). Like Nerva's oath not to slay any senators while emperor, Titus' oath was more probably aimed at enhancing his own popularity rather than being an act of religious piety. In the same way, Titus' deification of his father and sister Domitilla were

effected to increase the prestige of the Flavian family as domus divorum (for the dynastic character of the imperial cult under the Flavians, see Gsell, Essai sur le regne de l'empereur Domitien [1893] 50-57; Scott, The Imperial Cult under the Flavians [1936] 67-71; Vespasien: L'empereur du bon sens [1949] 191-193; Pliny Paneg. 11.1).

9.1 quamvis interdum ulciscendi causa non deesset: This statement, doubtless, functions as an introduction to Suetonius' account of the men, the two patricians (Tit. 9.1f.) and Domitian (Tit. 9.3), who acted against Titus while princeps. Does it, however, reflect any further opposition to the emperor? It has been supposed that the aristocracy at Rome was hostile to Titus because of his pro-Eastern policy (as exemplified by his coinage and treatment of the Herods) during the time he was his father's partner. If so, Titus' various acts of clementia may have been aimed at overcoming this hostility (Levi, PP 9 [1954] 291f.; cf. Walton, JRS 19 [1929] 46).

9.1 duos patricii generis convictos in adfectatione imperii: The names of these conspirators are not attested, but there is a good chance that one of them may have been Mettius Pompusianus (Cramer, Astrology in Roman Law and Politics [1954] 141). This man, probably to be identified with L. Pompusius Mettius (RE 21^2 [1952] 2424), had been a consul under Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 14) and praefectus aerarii Saturni for four years ca. A.D. 76-80 (CIL 6.1495; RE 21^2 [1952] 2424). His appointment as consul presumably came as a direct result of Vespasian's discovery that his horoscope predicted he would hold imperial power (Suet. Vesp. 14). Since Titus was aware of the horo-

scope of his adversaries (Suet. Tit. 9.2) and Domitian later executed Mettius for his imperatoria genesis (Suet. Dom. 10.3; Dio 67.12.3f.), Mettius would appear to be a likely candidate. If this was the case, Titus mimicked his father's policy of showing favor to Mettius in order to secure his loyalty (Suet. Vesp. 14).

9.1 docens principatum fato dari: As Suetonius records it, it would appear that Titus believed in "fatalistic astrology" (Cramer, Astrology in Roman Law and Politics [1954] 141). Examples of the Flavian rule having been preordained in the heavens are given by Suetonius for both Titus and his father (Tit. 2.1, 5.1; Vesp. 5.2f.), but these were most likely promulgated to create the opinion that the gods had willed the Flavian regime. This need not confirm any belief in fate on the part of Titus (see note 5.1: etiam de imperii spe confirmatus est).

9.2 Titus' acts of favor towards the two men of patrician birth who plotted against him

9.2 cursores suos misit: These cursores were messengers used by both the emperor and private citizens (Suet. Ner. 49.1; Tac. Agric. 43; Nep. Milt. 4.3; Pliny Ep. 7.12). They were trained to be fast runners (Petron. 29; Pliny HN 2.181).

9.2 ceterum ipsos non solum familiari cenae adhibuit: An invitation to dine with the emperor was regarded as an honor and privilege by all the classes at Rome (Roman Life and Manners III 94).

9.2 pugnantium inspicienda: The editor or host of the gladiatorial games generally inspected the arms to test their sharpness before combat began (Roman Life and Manners II 60). Since the identical story is told in connection with the emperor Nerva and Calpurnius Crassus, who formed a conspiracy against him (Dio 68.3.2), can it be assumed that Titus' motivation for his actions was similar to that which Dio ascribes to Nerva, i.e. that the emperor did not care whether he died or not? More probably Titus wanted to demonstrate by showing favor to these men and trusting them that they had little to gain from sedition.

9.2 cognita utriusque genitura: The study of horoscopes was a favorite form of prophesy among the Romans (Roman Life and Manners III 186); Vespasian himself is said to have put great faith in his own horoscope (Suet. Vesp. 25). Despite his edict expelling astrologers early in A.D. 70 (Dio 66.9.2; Cramer, Class. et Med. 12 [1951] 39f.), Vespasian's belief in the powers of astrology is attested by the presence of two known astrologers in the Flavian court, Ptolemy Seleucus and Tiberius Claudius Balbillus (Tac. Hist. 2.78; Dio 66.9.2; Cramer, Astrology in Roman Law and Politics [1954] 134-138). This passage presumably indicates that Titus shared his interest (Cramer, op. cit. 141). It is indeterminable whether Titus prepared the horoscopes to use as evidence against the men or whether on the basis of the horoscopes cast, Titus found them guilty of possessing "imperial" horoscopes (Cramer, op. cit. 141). The fact that Titus did not seem to regard their plot as a serious threat might suggest the latter.

9.2 imminere ambobus periculum adfirmasse verum quandoque et ab alio sicut evenit: Although the whole passage is obscure, it was possibly Domitian who was later responsible for the two men's misfortune given the number of men who perished or were exiled during his lengthy reign. It is unusual that Suetonius, who rarely disguised his hostility for Domitian, does not name him. Given that sicut evenit is immediately followed by a passage on Domitian, Suetonius may, however, be making a subtle allusion, as if all would know whom he meant. If the reference is to Domitian, it would strengthen the argument that one of the patricians was Mettius Pompusianus (see note 9.1: duos patricii generis convictos ...), who is known to have been exiled and then executed by Domitian - allegedly because he had a horoscope predicting empire (Suet. Dom. 10.3; Dio 67.12.2f).

9.3 The relationship between Titus and his brother; Domitian's imperial position during the reign of Titus

9.3 fratrem insidiari sibi non desinentem: Suetonius' treatment of Domitian should be approached cautiously; the author clearly reflects the later tradition hostile to Vespasian's younger son (Levi, PP 9 [1954] 290f.; Waters, Phoenix 18 [1964] 51). Although, on the whole, the odium fraternum has probably received too much attention (Waters, op. cit. 64), there are indications that tensions did exist between Titus and his brother, Domitian. For example, coins bearing the legends CONCORDIA and PIETAS AUGUSTA, the latter depicting Titus and Domitian clasping right hands (BMC II 258, no. 177, 273, nos. 238-240), were probably intended to function in much the same way as the earlier

CONCORDIA-legend coinage of Vespasian (see note 5.3: unde nata suspicio ...). Ill-feeling may well have resulted from Domitian's subordinate position during his brother's rule. It is reasonable to assume that Domitian expected to share the imperial powers as the precedent of Titus' association with the regime of Vespasian would naturally have led him to believe he would (Morford, Phoenix 22 [1968] 71; cf. Waters, op. cit. 63). The bitterness which he felt when he discovered that such was not the case would then explain his accusation that Titus had tampered with Vespasian's will (Suet. Dom. 2.3; cf. Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 83) and the idea he apparently contemplated of granting a double donative to the soldiers (Suet. Dom. 2.3). That Domitian acted seditiously throughout his brother's reign is unlikely, for if he had posed a serious threat to Titus, one could have expected some sort of counter-measures. As for Titus, he may have denied his brother imperial powers since, either on his father's advice or as a result of his own observation, he considered it more appropriate to bestow these at a later date just as Vespasian had done (see note 3.2: imitarique chrographa ...). No doubt, Titus' age on his accession precluded his feeling any urgent need to groom his successor. Vespasian's position had been very different since he was sixty years of age when he became emperor (Waters, op. cit. 64).

9.3 sed paene ex professo sollicitantem exercitus mediantem fugam: Suetonius is no doubt alluding to the fact that Domitian supposedly considered giving the soldiers a double donative when Titus came to the throne (Suet. Dom. 2.3). In fact he refrained from this and the paene and mediantem in this passage are important qualifiers.

9.3 ne in minore quidem honore habere sustinuit: The only honor which Titus bestowed on Domitian, other than his designation as heir, was an ordinary consulship, his seventh, in 80 A.D. which he held with the emperor (Degrassi 23; see Antonine Monarchy 112, n. 134, where Hammond argues against Gsell's contention that Domitian had already been destined as consul suffectus in 80 and when Vespasian died, was appointed consul ordinarius). After Vespasian's deification both he and Titus used the title divi filius (BMC II 238-241, nos. 86-104; Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 25 [1957] 55).

9.3 a primo imperii die: Titus succeeded his father on June 24 A.D. 79 and from that day adopted the imperial titulature Imperator Titus Vespasianus Augustus (for the date of Vespasian's death and Titus' accession, see Suet. Vesp. 24; Tit. 11.1; Dio 66.17.3; Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2674, 2717; Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 15 [1938] 36; Hopzafel, Klio 17 [1921] 74f.; for Titus' imperial titulature, see BMC II 223-236, nos. 1-82; CIL 5.7986, 7988, 6.942). Although the designations Augustus, the distinctive imperial title, and Imperator were immediately incorporated into his formula (for the different positions of Imperator in his titulature prior to his accession, see note 5.2: ut in gratulatione imperatorem eum consalutaverint), the titles Pater Patriae and Pontifex Maximus were apparently added later in 79 (BMC II lxxi, 224-229, nos. 6-35; Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2716; see note 9.1: pontificatum maximum ideo se professus accipere). As for his imperial offices, he continued to count the years of his tribunician power and his consulships from those he had held during Vespasian's reign (see Appendix 4: Titus' Imperial Titles and Offices).

The ancient sources give no specific details of Titus' accession. He does not appear to have received an imperial salutation when he came to the throne, since he was already Imperator XIV before June 23 A.D. 79 (just as his father was Imperator XX [CIL 2.2477]), while his fifteenth acclamation - granted, according to Dio (66.20.3) for Agricola's successes in Britain - seems to date after July 1 A.D. 79 (CIL 6.1246; cf. CIL 6.942). Nor is there any record of the conferment of imperial powers by the Senate, such as Vespasian's lex de imperio (CIL 6.930). It is, nonetheless, believed that the Senate did formally decree his imperial powers and titles, as the adoption of Imperator as his praenomen and the title Augustus would suggest (Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 82). Be this as it may, there is no indication in the sources that Titus' accession after his long association with his father as particeps imperii was anything but smooth.

9.3 consortem successoremque testari perseveravit: The meaning of consors in this context is obscure; it can hardly mean "a partner in imperial power", as it does in other cases (Tac. Ann. 1.3; Pliny Paneg. 8.6: consors tribuniciae potestatis), because other than the titles Caesar and iuventutis princeps, both of which he held during his father's reign, Domitian received none of the imperial titles and powers, such as tribunicia potestas or the designation Imperator (BMC II 237-241, nos. 83-104; cf. BMC II 29-30, nos. 154-158; Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 84; Gsell, Essai sur le regne de l'empereur Domitien [1893] 26f.). His position in the empire, therefore, was effectively the same as it had been when Vespasian was alive with one important difference - he was named Titus' successor. Hence, consors

should probably be interpreted in a more general sense without reference to specific powers; its significance must be closely linked with that of successor because if Domitian had been socius imperii, there would have been little reason for Titus to overtly designate his brother as heir (Price 61; cf. Suet. Tit. 6.1; Pliny Paneg. 8.6). There can be little doubt that Domitian was marked out to be Titus' successor. Titus had no son to challenge Domitian's claim to the throne and Vespasian had clearly stated his intention to establish dynastic rule through his sons (Vesp. 25). Nothing in the evidence indicates that Titus wished to go against the wishes of his father.

10.1 Events leading up to the death of Titus; his one regret

10.1 spectaculis absolutis: Both Suetonius and Dio (66.26.1) seem to imply that after the inaugural celebrations for the Flavian amphitheater in the summer of A.D. 80, Titus accomplished nothing further before his death in the autumn of 81 (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2722). There are, however, a number of inscriptions which attest Titus' activities during this period, particularly in the field of public works. Under his auspices, for example, vast work was done on the road system in Asia in late 80 A.D. (CIL 3.318) and the Aquae Curtia and Caerula were repaired in 81 (McCrum-Woodhead no. 148b); his intention to rebuild the Capitol which burned down in the fire of 80 is also attested (December 7 A.D. 80: AFA 106). Titus' last known act in Rome was his attendance at the rites of the Fratres Arvales on May 19 A.D. 81 (AFA 109f.). His departure to the Sabine country would then date to the summer of 81.

10.1 in quorum fine populo coram ubertim fleverat: This statement has been taken as an indication that Titus was suffering from ill health when he left Rome or that he had a premonition of death (Price 68; Garzetti, From Tiberius to the Antonines [1974] 261). It has also been conjectured that Titus' behavior could be explained if, like Domitian, he had an astrological prediction of the day on which he would die (Suet. Dom. 14.1; Cramer, Astrology in Roman Law and Politics [1954] 141f.).

10.1 Sabinos petit: Titus' destination was most probably the Flavian summer-home at Aquae Cutiliae where he eventually died (see note 11.1: in eadem qua pater villa).

10.1 febrim nanctus: This reference to a fever is the strongest evidence that Titus died of natural causes (see note 11.1: excessit).

10.1 neque enim extare ullum suum factum paenitendum excepto dum taxat uno: What was Titus' one regret? The question has titillated the imaginations of ancient and modern authors alike. Suetonius offers no solution to the question; yet, since both he and Dio dismiss the story of Titus' having illicit relations with his brother's wife, Domitia Longina (Tit. 10.2; Dio 66.26.4), it can probably be assumed that this rumor was unfounded (Price 71). Dio favors the view that Titus regretted not having killed Domitian (66.26.4), but it has been argued that factum paenitendum cannot refer to an act of omission (Rolfe, TAPA 45 [1914] 43) and it is doubtful that Titus so hated his brother that he would have contemplated murder (see note 9.3: fratrem

insidiari sibi non desinentem). Various other suggestions have been offered. If Titus did, in fact, falsify his father's will, depriving Domitian of greater imperial power during his own principate, this may have been the act of which he repented (Rolfe, op. cit. 43; see note 3.2: imitarique chirographa ...). On the other hand, it simply may have been that Titus regretted that he had not given his successor more instruction in governing because he himself was unaware that his reign would be so short. Alternatively, it has been hypothesized that the emperor had the murders of Caecina and Marcellus on his mind (Crook, AJPhil 72 [1951] 172), or perhaps the destruction of Jerusalem (Price 71 with reference). Given Titus' seemingly strong attachment to Berenice, it could have been her banishment from Rome which he lamented and the fact they did not marry. Ausonius (271.3f.) declares that he cannot believe that Titus was guilty of any crime and the deed did not exist. Perhaps then Titus was simply delirious with fever and his statement was meaningless (Rolfe, op. cit. 43). As can be seen, the range of possible explanations is very wide.

10.2 A discussion of Titus' one regret

10.2 Domitia: Domitia Longina, daughter of Cn. Domitius Corbulo (CIL 10.1422; Dio 66.3.4), was the wife of L. Aelius Lamia when she was seduced by Domitian about the time of Vespasian's accession (Dio 66.3.4 places the episode among the events of A.D. 70; Suet. Dom. 1.3; Johann. Antioch. FHG 4.579, no. 107 wrongly identifies her as Titus' daughter). Domitian subsequently married her, probably before 73 when she gave birth to a son (Suet. Dom. 3.1). According to Suetonius

(Dom. 3.1), Domitia was designated Augusta in the year following the birth of her son, but it is known that she did not receive the title until 81 A.D. (AFA 111). The difficulty presented by the conflicting evidence might be explained by the fact that there appears to be a lacuna in Suetonius' text (PIR^2 D181; Gsell, Essai sur le regne de l'empereur Domitien [1893] 45, n. 1, acknowledges the problem, but finds Mommsen's explanation that Domitian had two sons unlikely). Domitia was later divorced and banished by Domitian for her affair with the actor Paris only to remarry him later (Suet. Dom. 3.1; Dio 67.3.1; Epit. de Caes. 11.11; Aur. Vict. Caes. 11.7). The period of her exile is uncertain, but as she is mentioned on inscriptions and coinage for the years A.D. 81, 82, 84-87, 90 and 91 (RE 9 [1903] 1515 with references; BMC II lxxxiv), it appears to have run either from late 82 to 84 or from the end of 87 until 89 (RE 9 [1903] 1515). The earlier dates look more likely since Dio mentions the divorce prior to Domitian's campaigns in Germany of A.D. 83 (RE 9 [1903] 1515).

10.2 immo etiam gloriatura quod illi promptissimum erat in omnibus probris: Suetonius' derogatory remarks about Domitia and the use of the perfect tense would lead one to suppose that she was deceased when he wrote the vita of Titus (Syme II 780). She was certainly dead by A.D. 140 as a temple in Gabiae was erected to her memory (CIL 14.2795), but she was still alive in 126 (CIL 15.554), possibly even as late as ca. 129-132 (CIL 15.552; RE 9 [1903] 1515f. comments that this inscription is undated; Syme II 780 ascribes the above dates to it, concluding on the basis of the dates that this vita and those of the other Flavian emperors were later additions to Suetonius' De vita

Caesarum).

11.1 The death of Titus; public manifestations of grief following his death

11.1 excessit: The sources contain varying accounts of Titus' death, asserting either that Titus died of natural causes (Suet. Tit. 10.2; Dom. 2.3; Epit. de Caes. 10.5; Dio 66.26.2) or that his death was brought about or hastened by his brother Domitian (Dio 66.26.2; Philostr. VA 6.32; Aur. Vict. Caes. 10.5; Suda s.v. Δομιτίανος). The separate tradition from the Jewish Talmud that, as a punishment for the destruction of the Jewish temple, Titus was tortured by a gnat which ate away at his brain and eventually caused his death can be dismissed as wishful thinking by the Jewish people who longed to see Titus suffer a painful end (Bastomsky, Apeiron 1 [1967] 23).

The role most frequently ascribed to Domitian is that he poisoned his brother Titus (Philostr. VA 6.32; Aur. Vict. Caes. 10.5; Suda s.v. Δομιτίανος). Yet rumors of poisoning were common enough in ancient times; indeed, some - including the emperor Hadrian - even believed that Titus poisoned Vespasian (Dio 66.17.1). In Dio's account, Domitian hastened his brother's death and abandoned him before he died (66.26.2); Suetonius also implies neglect (Dom. 2.3), though his account contains no suggestion of foul play. Because of Suetonius' generally unfavorable picture of Domitian, the fact that he does not place any blame on Domitian for Titus' death makes suspect the story that Domitian was responsible (Tito 148, n. 11). The relative sud-

denness of Titus' death at a young age, Domitian's alleged hostility for his brother, the rapidity with which Domitian seized power and the unpopularity of his reign - all were probably factors which contributed to a later tradition that Domitian murdered Titus (Gsell, Essai sur le regne de l'empereur Domitien [1893] 29; Tito 148f., n. 13; Grosso, Antidoron H. H. Paoli oblatum: Miscellanae Philologia [1956] 142-151; Clarke, Historia 15 [1966] 319). In practice there is no reason to suspect Domitian since Titus was suffering from a fever which could have proved fatal in any event (Suet. Tit. 10.2; Epit. de Caes. 10.15; Gsell, op. cit. 29). It also seems from numerous references that a cold bath may have been a contributing factor to death (Dio 66.26.2; without reference to Domitian: Plut. de Sanitate 3; Aur. Vict. Caes. 10.5), though a similar incident is recorded in connection with Vespasian's death (Suet. Vesp. 24). For these reasons, it is generally accepted that Titus died of natural causes (Gsell, op. cit.; Garzetti, From Tiberius to the Antonines [1974] 263). Bastomsky has concluded from the various accounts that the cause of death was malignant malaria, but the nature of the source material rules out any definitive diagnosis (Apeiron 1 [1967] 22f.).

11.1 in eadem qua pater villa: The villa in which his father also died was located at Aquae Cutiliae, a Sabine village, in Reate (Suet. Vesp. 24).

11.1 Id. Sept.: Titus died on the thirteenth of September. News of his death seems to have reached Rome with Domitian on the evening of the same day (Eutrop. 7.22). By calculating the distance which

Domitian had to travel, Grosso estimates that Titus died no later than midday, though whether Titus was still alive or dead when Domitian left for Rome is indeterminable (Grosso, Antidoron H. H. Paoli oblatum: Miscellanae Philologia [1956] 154-158). The story in both of the major sources that Titus was abandoned by his brother while still living reflects a tradition hostile to Domitian (Suet. Dom. 2.3; Dio 66.26.3). It seems logical to assume that, if Domitian left prior to his brother's death, he could have had no doubts that Titus would soon die. Presumably he wanted to be the first to break the news in Rome, probably to ensure his smooth transition to power (Grosso, op. cit. 155).

11.1 post biennium ac menses duos diesque XX quam successerat patri: Titus succeeded his father on June 24 A.D. 79 (see note 9.3: a primo imperii die). The figures cited in this passage accord with the date given above and place his death in A.D. 81. Since other sources are in agreement (Dio 66.18.4; Epit. de Caes. 10.15; cf. Dom. 17.3), the contrary evidence presented in the accounts of Eutopius (7.22.1) and Johannes Antiochus (FHG 4.579, no. 105) is thought to be incorrect (Weynand, RE 12 [1909] 2722), probably the result of errors in the manuscripts (FHG 4.579, notes on no. 105).

11.1 altero et quadragesimo aetatis anno: The statement that Titus was forty-one when he died conflicts with Suetonius' earlier information that Titus was born in A.D. 41 (Tit. 1.1), but other evidence tells in favor of this passage (see note 1.1: insigni anno Gaiana nece). Aurelius Victor, who records that Titus died in his fortieth

year, would then appear to have calculated the emperor's age from Suetonius, Titus 1.1 (Caes. 10.5).

11.1 senatus prius quam edicto convocaretur ad curiam concurrit: According to Dio (66.26.3), Domitian travelled first to the praetorian camp where he was acclaimed imperator and received the imperial powers. News of his arrival and the circumstances surrounding it must have spread immediately to Rome and led to the Senate meeting, probably within an hour or two after Domitian's arrival on the night of September thirteenth (Grosso, Antidoron H. H. Paoli oblatum: Miscellanae Philologia [1956] 159). The haste with which the meeting would have convened may explain the lack of the customary edict. The edict in this case probably would have been issued by the consuls since Domitian as yet did not have the authority - either by virtue of imperium or the tribunician power - to summon the Senate (Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 24 [1956] 84, n. 123). That the Senate made any opposition to Domitian's accession is unlikely (Grosso, op. cit. 159f.). From the dates given for Domitian's reign in Dio (67.18.2), it would appear that the Senate formally conferred imperial powers on him on the following day, that is September 14 A.D. 81 (Gsell, Essai sur le regne de 1' empereur Domitien [1893] 30; Hammond, Amer. Acad. Rome 15 [1938] 36f.). On this day the Fratres Arvales also celebrated his accession (AFA 110).

11.1 obseratisque adhuc foribus deinde apertis: The presence of the contrasting adverbs adhuc and deinde in this passage can possibly be interpreted to mean that the Senate met, contrary to custom, behind

closed doors on the evening of September thirteenth. It then met on the fourteenth, once properly convened by consular edict, and officially ratified acts decided upon on the previous day. This sequence of events would conform with the fact that senatorial recognition of Domitian as princeps probably came on the fourteenth of September (see note 11.1: senatus prius quam edicto convocaretur ...).

11.1 tantas mortuo gratias egit laudesque congessit: Senatorial honors to Titus are thought to include the Arch of Titus (see note 6.1: triumphavit cum patre). According to the ancient sources (Suet. Dom. 2.3; Dio 67.2.6), the only honor which Domitian paid to his brother's memory was his deification. The date of Titus' consecration is unknown, but it does not appear to have been before October 1 A.D. 81 (AFA 110). It is attested on coinage which has been dated to 81/82 A.D. (BMC II lxxxiv, 313, no. 69, 358, nos. 284-285; elsewhere attested: CIL 6.945, 946; CIG 1.2494, 3611; Pliny Paneg. 11.1, 35.4). It is thought that Domitian's desire to be dei frater would have led to an early deification (Clarke, Historia 15 [1966] 319).

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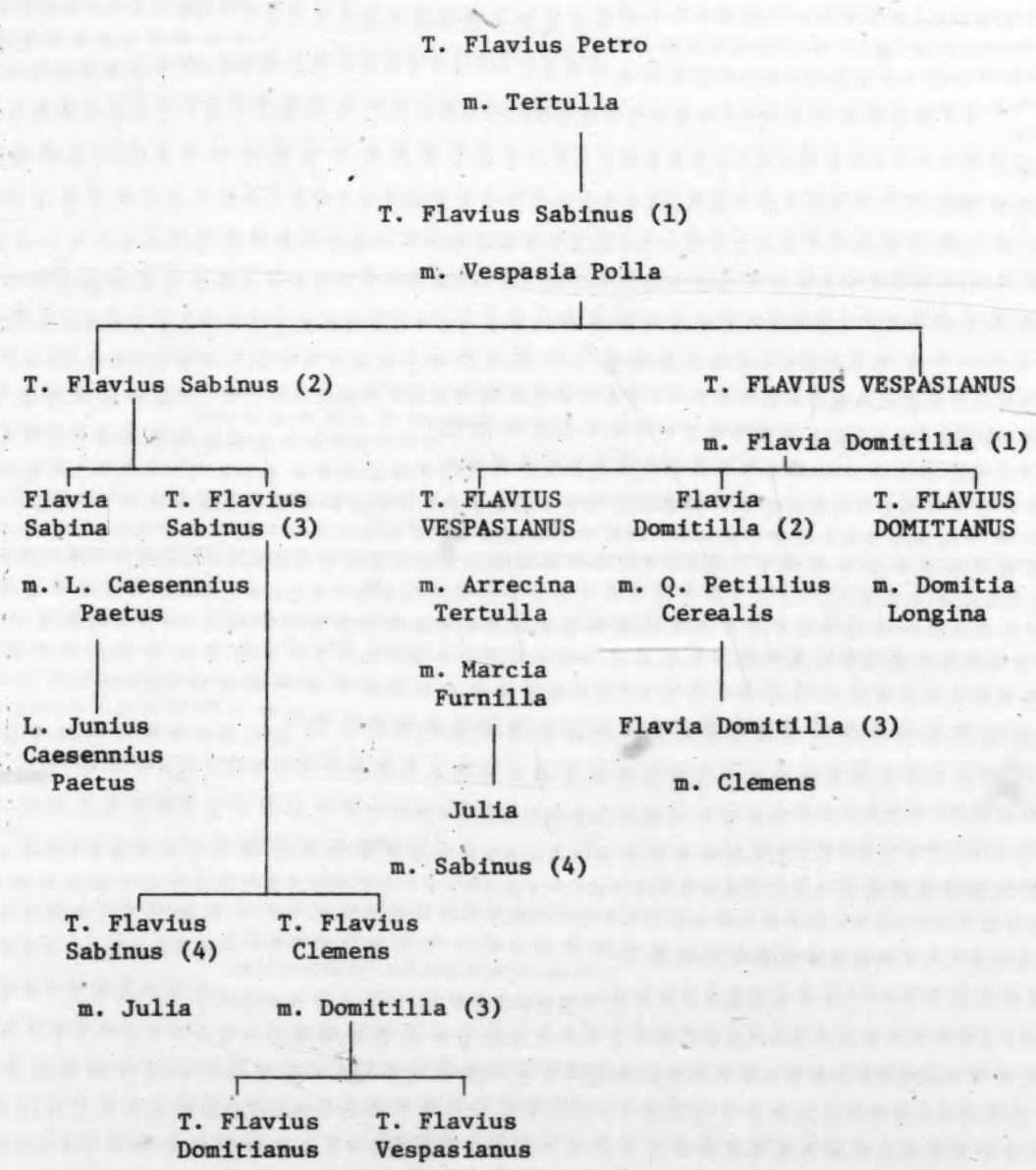
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Stemma of the *gens Flavia*



Source: Townend, JRS 51 (1961) 62.

APPENDIX 2

The Meaning of *Septizodium*

Septizodium and septizonium are both attested in the ancient texts and in inscriptions and since the two words are used interchangeably, there can be little doubt that they describe the same kind of building. The presence of the two spellings, nonetheless, has caused great debate over which was the original or correct form. It would appear that the question has been settled by a recent arrangement of the fragmentary remains of the Severan marble plan of Rome revealing the official name of the monument of Septimius Severus to be Septizodium (Bloch, JRS 51 [1961] 147). This discovery gives solid proof that the building was formally known as Septizodium, at least in the Severan period, though it fails to elucidate the meaning of the word and the physical structure of the monument.

Theories prior to the aforementioned discovery had endeavored to determine the correct term for the building through etymological studies. In arguing that septizonium is the proper term, Dombart (RE^2 4 [1923] 1580-1582) supposed that the word was derived from the Greek ἑπτάζωνος, a term denoting the seven celestial zones and the rotation of the seven planets represented by the seven gods who became associated with the days of the week (Dio 37.18). Jordan (Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum I^3 [1970] 100), on the other hand, believes that septizodium is the correct word which he translates as meaning "House of Seven Planets", deriving from the Greek ἑπταζῴδια. Hence, both septizonium

and septizodium could refer to astrological phenomena and the appearance of both words in ancient texts may partially be explained as a confusion between two words both pertaining to the seven planets which the building represented in some capacity. Later evidence supports the speculation that septizodium had some feature relating to the solar system. Medieval sources call the monument sedem solis or septemsolis, a term which suggests its connection with the heavens (Lugli, Roma Antica [1968] 520). What form this connection may have taken has been variously explained, but one suggestion is that the building had representations of planetary gods. Dombart has argued that it was a large public calendar, displaying on its front the figures of the seven planetary gods (Saturn, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter and Venus) who gave their names to the seven days of the week, the twelve signs of the zodiac marking the months of the year, and the number of days of the month. In holes beside these figures and numbers, pegs were placed daily to indicate the day of the week, month of the year and day of the month (RE^2 4 [1923] 1583 with illustration). All that is known for certain, however, is that Septimius Severus intended the building to serve as a showplace for his African countrymen visiting Rome (H.A. Sev. 19.5). All else lies largely in the realm of speculation and although there are indications that septizodium had some association with the seven planets, this is not the only possible explanation for the building.

Some scholars interpret the numerical prefix in an architectural sense and envisage a seven-tiered structure; this does not preclude the view that the sections of the building could have had some astrological

application (Lanciani, The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome [1897] 181-183). Such medieval illustrations as exist of the Severan Septizodium (see Nash, A Pictorial Dictionary of Rome II [1961] figs. 861, 1065-1068), however, show the building with only three stories. For this reason, the name septizodium is not generally assumed to indicate the number of stories comprising the structure (Jordan, op. cit. 100; Dombart, RE^2 4 [1923] 1584 with an illustration of a reconstructed three-tiered Septizodium; Platner-Ashby 474), although it is possible that additional stories were in a state of ruin before the medieval representations were produced. Furthermore, if the purpose of the Severan monument was as a facade for the imperial palace, which might be implied from the life of Septimius Severus (H.A. Sev. 19.5), the assumed height of one hundred feet would have been insufficient (Lanciani, op. cit. 182-183).

Two ancient sources mention septizodium in connection with a nymphaeum. Ammianus Marcellinus (15.7.3) wrote: ad Septizodium convenisset celebrum locum ambitiosi nymphaeum Marcus condidit imperator; although he ascribes the nymphaeum to Marcus Aurelius, it is generally believed that he is referring to the Septizodium Severi (Ammianus Marcellinus I 160, n. 2, Loeb). Engraved on the fountain at Lambaesis are two inscriptions, one of which names the structure a septizodium (CIL 8.2657). From this evidence, it has been concluded that the Septizodium was simply a great nymphaeum (McCann, Amer. Acad. Rome 30 [1968] 52).

It will be clear from the above discussion of the problems surrounding the septizodium that little can be said conclusively about the structure.

Much of the debate centers around the Septizodium Severi about which we have the most evidence. Whether or not statements about this particular monument hold true for the others is unknown, but some unifying factor must have been present in all the structures to justify their being called a septizodium.

APPENDIX 3

The Origin of the *Nomen* Julia

The nomen Julia has provoked discussion on the origin of the name since there is no evidence for such a name in either the Flavian family or the family of Marcia Furnilla, Titus' second wife (see Appendix 1 for the names of the Flavian family members; for Marcia Furnilla, see CIL 6.31766). It has been suggested that Julia's nomen was derived from the family of Arrecina Tertulla (Townend, JRS 51 [1961] 58; Castritus, Historia 18 [1969] 492). Whether, in fact, there was a Julia in the Arrecinus family is uncertain, but it is known that Arrecinus Clemens, father of Arrecina Tertulla, was related to a Julius Lupus (Joseph. AJ 19.190). If this Julius had a sister, whose name might have been Julia, and the two men were connected through the marriage of the sister to Arrecinus Clemens, this Julia would have been the mother-in-law of Titus (Townend, op. cit. 58). How then did Julia receive the name? Townend concludes that Titus' daughter was raised in the household of the Arrecini and adopted the name Julia from the woman who reared her (op. cit. 57f.). Castritus offers another solution; because Suetonius does not identify the filia of Marcia Furnilla as Julia (Tit. 4.2, 5.2) and Philostratus comments that Julia was only one of Titus' daughters (VA 7.7), he reasons that Julia was the daughter of Arrecina Tertulla and not Marcia Furnilla (op. cit. 492f.). Titus then had another daughter by his second wife.

Is it not possible that the nomen Julia came from a source other than

the Arrecinus family? Townend mentions Julia Berenice, Titus' mistress, as a possibility (op. cit. 58). Since Townend also concedes the possibility that the nomen Julia was assumed by Titus' daughter and that she became known by this name rather than an earlier one, perhaps Titus later gave his daughter the name as a tribute to the Jewish princess. Alternatively, he may have adopted it from the Julio-Claudian family once the Flavians were established as the ruling dynasty. If Julia were renamed at some point, it may explain why Suetonius refers to her only as filia in the vita of Titus; as well, the statement that Titus had more than one daughter for which Philostratus is the only source may have resulted from a confusion between two names for the same girl.

Evidence for all these possibilities, however, is lacking. The nomen may simply have originated with a member of the Flavian gens or the family of Marcia Furnilla whose name or full name is no longer known.

APPENDIX 4

Titus' Imperial Titles and Offices (79-81 A.D.)

Year A.D.	Tribunician Power	Consulships	Imperator	Other Titles
70		Cos.		
71	Tr. p. (July 1)	Cos. des.	Imp. I, II	Pontifex, Censor des.
72	Tr. p. I-II	Cos. II	Imp. III	
73	Tr. p. II-III	Cos. des. III	Imp. IV	Censor
74	Tr. p. III-IV	Cos. III Cos. des. IV	Imp. V, VI	Censor
75	Tr. p. IV-V	Cos. IV Cos. des. V	Imp. VII, VIII	
76	Tr. p. V-VI	Cos. V Cos. des. VI	Imp. IX (?), X (?), XI, XII	
77	Tr. p. VI-VII	Cos. VI		
78	Tr. p. VII-VIII	Cos. des. VII	Imp. XIII	
79	Tr. p. VIII-IX	Cos. VII Cos. des. VIII	Imp. XIV, XV	Augustus, Pont. Max., Pater Patriae
80	Tr. p. IX-X	Cos. VIII		
81	Tr. p. X-XI	Cos. des. IX	Imp. XVI, XVII	